

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1876.

## The Week.

THE story which the Democrats have been industriously circulating that Mr. Hayes is a member of the "American Alliance," a body intended to revive the "Native-American" movement, turns out to be founded on these facts: After the nomination of Mr. Hayes, the Alliance nominated Hayes and Wheeler as their candidates for President and Vice-President, and on being informed of the nomination he sent, through his secretary, a carefully-worded letter in reply, saying that he was "deeply gratified by this expression of confidence," acknowledging the importance of carrying New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and promising at the proper time to give references to committees for "such aid and co-operation as seems to be advisable." The practical object which the Alliance has in view is an amendment to the naturalization laws "limiting the suffrage to persons born in this country, or of American parents; the election of American-born citizens only to official positions in this country." It does not appear, therefore, that Mr. Hayes has committed himself to the principles of the Alliance, but merely that he is willing to allow it to help on his own election. The body itself is of little or no importance, but its support of Hayes and the silence of his letter on the subject of the principles of the organization will not tend to conciliate the foreign vote.

The talk about a bolt in Butler's district continues, and an attempt made to get Judge Hoar to run against him has met, we are glad to say, with success. On all accounts the nomination is a good one. Judge Hoar has plenty of the courage, shrewdness, and natural humor which is needed in a contest with a demagogue of Butler's stamp, and will make a hard fight, though it now looks as if Butler's strength was so great as to make him almost certain of his election. His defeat by Judge Hoar would have important consequences, inasmuch as his brother, Mr. G. F. Hoar, is talked of as the reform candidate for Boutwell's seat in the Senate, and it is needless to say that the defeat of Butler would make it less easy for "the boys" to control the succession, and more likely that the place would be given to the leaders of the anti-Butler party, who undoubtedly have been Judge Hoar and his brother. The indirect support given to Blaine by Judge Hoar at Cincinnati impaired the confidence of the reformers in the latter, but they seem now to have forgotten or forgiven that. Mr. Boutwell, we regret to observe, keeps very quiet in the campaign. This must be on account of illness; for were he in good health, the stirring questions of the hour would no doubt prove far too attractive to allow repose. There is no man in public life who has given more time and thought to the subject of "outrages" and the question of mixed races than Mr. Boutwell, as his recent report on Mississippi shows, and the remedy of "remanding the State to a territorial form of government" so closely resembles some of the measures proposed for the pacification of the revolted Turkish provinces, that we can hardly help thinking that a full discussion of the Southern problem by him would not only help on the good cause here, but would be of some value to Gortchakoff and Bismarck as well.

A good many campaign lies have been "nailed" during the week, and a good many "charges" made. It is not true, it seems, that Mr. Vance congratulated his hearers in North Carolina on the fact that "the brave Southern heroes who dipped their hands in Union blood are for Reform and Tilden," but he merely quoted the

sentiment from one of "Bob" Ingersoll's speeches, for the purpose of repudiating it with scorn. Nor is it true either that one Daniel P. Jones, an agent of the Christian Commission, on calling upon Mr. Tilden during the war for aid for sick and wounded soldiers, was brutally repelled by the Democratic candidate for President with the assurance that he (Mr. Tilden) would "rather see all the soldiers starve than give them one cent"; but, on the contrary, it turns out that this Jones is a feeble-minded man of low repute, and "generally shunned in consequence of his squalid appearance and uncleanly habits." On the other hand, Mr. Wheeler's record in Congress is being examined by the Democrats with good results, inasmuch as they find that he "put through" the Northern Pacific land-grant scheme, and engineered the Goat Island purchase in the House. Of these two charges the second seems to be much the best, as the Goat Island purchase was so notorious a job that, when the transfer of the island to the Central Pacific Railroad as a gift was proposed, one or two of the Democrats got up in their places and declared that if the island was going begging they were willing to make an offer of a round million or so for it themselves. Mr. Wheeler, besides being a "land-grabber," also turns out to be a "railroad-wrecker," inasmuch as he has been sued by a railroad, of which he was one of the trustees, to recover a sum of money which he is alleged to have abstracted from the treasury. We do not care to go into the merits of these accusations; but we may venture to remind the Republicans that if they do not enjoy having a candidate attacked in this way, it is their own fault. They made a great pretence at the time of the Cincinnati Convention of having selected Mr. Wheeler as their candidate on account of his established moral worth and "approved sagacity," whereas, in reality, he was selected partly because he came from New York, partly because no one knew anything against him, and partly by pure accident.

The Commission on the Prisons of this State, appointed by Mr. Tilden, has made its first report. It shows that there are great abuses, waste, and mismanagement of funds, as well as downright peculation; proves that this comes from the system of rotation and short terms, which has led officials to regard it as their business to make as much money as their opportunities would allow; and declares that there can be no hope of reform until the system is abandoned and fixity of tenure with responsibility—not to "the people" but to an energetic, faithful, and vigilant head—is introduced. The report is, in short, an out-and-out demonstration of the necessity of a reformed civil service in State affairs, which, *mutatis mutandis*, might have been made on the United States post-office or custom-house.

We wrote three weeks ago to a leading merchant in this city, who was an active Republican during and after the war, asking for information as to the practice among the men of his acquaintance and standing in the matter of making returns to the assessors under the income-tax law. Owing to his absence from the city, we received the answer only last Friday. It was not intended for publication, and we therefore suppress the writer's name:

"The whole matter of the income tax was a hard problem. The law was crude and careless, and no two assessors took the same view of it. Lawyers took contradictory views, and merchants were left in grave doubts as to their duty. Unless a man had a fixed, accurate income, he was in a complete fog. Many made up their return faithfully, giving the law the benefit of the doubt; many, equally well disposed, refused to return, and bore the penalty; many worthy and wealthy men, to my knowledge, who had country places, removed their voting power to their country homes, and left the rustic assessors, to whom an income of five or ten thousand

dollars seemed fabulous, to fix a small amount on which they paid a penalty. The result of the law was demoralizing to a sad extent. I am among those who believe the first year's income return of Gov. Tilden was an honest and fair one. As to the after years, I happen to know the facts. He was startled by the inconsistencies of the law and the absurdities of the rulings and cross-decisions under it. As a lawyer, he saw the impossibility of any correct and fair return, and went to A. J. Bleecker, the assessor in his district, told him his difficulty, asked him to go to his office and consult his books and to confer with his clerk, who had full charge of all his matters, and then to make up a full assessment, on which he would pay the penalty rather than run any risk of being criticised. In this he was more honest, open, and fair than most wealthy men, and deserves praise rather than blame."

The Silver Commission has been nearly made up by the appointment of two of the three "experts," who are Mr. Nourse of Boston and Mr. Groesbeck of Cincinnati, the first of them being a "gold man" and the second a "silver man." It will surprise a good many people to learn that Mr. Groesbeck is a financial "expert"; but the Commission from the first has been organized in the regular political way, and great pressure, it is said, was brought to bear on the members with regard to their "expert" patronage. The conflicting "claims" of the seaports of the Atlantic coast and of the Valley of the Mississippi were strongly urged, and were reconciled by the selection of the gentlemen named above. The Silver Commission is strictly non-partisan, and therefore cannot be assessed for election purposes.

The Southern correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, one of the few employed by the Northern press in that field, and one of the best observers employed anywhere, is confident that the whites will carry South Carolina for Hampton if not for Tilden. His chief reason for this belief appears to be the determination manifested by the whites, in spite of their numbering less than 300,000 in a population of 700,000. He anticipates some advantage to them, too, from the personal differences between Judge Mackey and R. B. Elliott, the Republican candidate for Attorney-General on the ticket headed by Governor Chamberlain. Elliott as a Congressman has publicly admitted the misgovernment of the State he represented, and has affected to deplore it as ruinous to the party's prospects; but in a State Convention, last spring, says the *Commercial's* correspondent, he was himself called a thief by Judge Mackey, and resented the charge by drawing his pistol and attempting to use it. These two politicians have not been on good terms at any time since, and Elliott's being on the ticket is said to ensure Mackey's going over to the other side. Either for fear or favor there will no doubt be a significant polling of black votes for Hampton, and the Charleston papers even publish lists of individuals who have made up their minds to support him. The old notion that the blacks would stand by their color and the party of freedom to the bitter end, would have been sooner exploded if "intimidation" had not been even more potent as exercised among themselves than as exercised upon them by the whites, and, of course, if political plunder had not had its cohesive effect in South Carolina as it has in every other community.

Commenting on Attorney-General Taft's recent remarks to some South Carolinians, in the course of which he said he saw no reason why the blacks should not form rifle clubs and sabre companies if the whites were doing it, the same writer thinks the reason will be apparent "after a few 'fights' have taken place." That is to say, a proper regard for the safety of the blacks would have made the Attorney-General careful in asserting for them a right, it is true, but a very dangerous right. If the approaching elections in South Carolina were to be decided by rifle clubs, the State would not be classed as doubtful, even, by any political calculator. As we pointed out last week, the negro in any armed collision is so overwhelmingly and mercilessly attacked that the result appears

not a "fight," but a massacre. We do not suppose that the Attorney-General meant what he said for counsel, for no worse counsel could possibly be given. Here, if at any point, is the occasion for Federal interference, to preserve order and prevent collisions. The blacks do not need to be armed for protection; the whites should equally understand that they do not need to be armed to obtain their coveted preponderance. The one party will only furnish a pretext for wholesale slaughter; the other draw down upon themselves the United States marshals, with all their power to abuse the instructions of the Attorney-General. When the actual struggle commences, we hope both parties will feel that it is a moral and not a physical trial of strength, and, as often happens, that the seriousness of the stake will make the voters more orderly and discreet than ever.

In a speech recently made at Boston, Mr. Blaine, referring to the supposed danger to the Treasury from the horde of "rebel claimants" who, he says, would get their opportunity should the Democrats come into power, instanced a case decided in the United States Circuit Court at Portland as an illustration of this danger. He described it as a case "against General Neal Dow for sugar seized by him in Louisiana for the use of his soldiers." Soon after, and in another speech made in Ohio, he went into the history of the case, asking the attention of the lawyers as he revealed its real nature, declared that by its judgment was rendered in favor of a "rebel" against Dow personally for sugar seized by a foraging party; that Dow had offered the man a receipt for the sugar, provided he could prove his loyalty; that this he declined to do, and got judgment in a Louisiana Court; that the United States Court confirmed this judgment, but that the decision was "warmly dissented from by Judge Clarke, of New Hampshire," who had been "brought up in the true faith," but was overruled by Judge Clifford, whom he described as an "ingrain, hungry Democrat, double-dyed and twisted, dyed in the wool, and coarse wool at that," adding that, in his opinion, Judge Clifford had "carried" the case—or, in other words, withheld his judgment—for eight years, "and never affirmed that decision until he in his ignorance believed in a Democratic triumph," and Mr. Blaine suggested that if this were sound law, every soldier in the Union Army might be sued for trespass, and the owner of the field at Appomattox "collect ground-rent from Grant."

Now, as a matter of fact, this account of the case turns out to have been a misrepresentation from beginning to end. The plaintiff was not a rebel but was a well-known citizen of New York, Mr. Bradish Johnson, of unquestioned loyalty, and he brought an action in the Sixth District Court of New Orleans against General Neal Dow for the illegal appropriation of some sugar, plate, and other property by officers and soldiers of his command. General Dow not appearing, the case went for the plaintiff by default, and the suit in the United States court was brought upon the judgment of the New Orleans court. The only question presented was as to the validity of the old judgment, and had nothing to do with rebel claims in any way. Judge Clifford could have decided this himself, but thinking that it might be better that the case should go to the Supreme Court, himself called in Judge Clarke, so that they might certify to a division of opinion. Worse than all this, it is stated, and we understand on good grounds, that before Mr. Blaine made his Ohio speech Judge Clarke complained to him of the injustice he had done to Judge Clifford in his Boston speech, and explained to him the character of the case and the points involved in the decision. If this be true, it makes as black a case as there could well be; if it be not, it requires no ingenuity to see how Mr. Blaine got at his facts. If he were anybody else he would be covered with confusion. As it is, we suppose he will not be seriously damaged by it, any more than he was by the exposures of last winter, which so endeared him to his followers that they came within an ace of making him candidate for the Presidency. But the case deserves a thorough overhauling by the



press, for the Supreme Court is a body in whose purity and good fame every citizen of the country has a stake, and a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the character of any of its members is a matter of public concern compared with which the success of this or that party in a political struggle is a trifle.

It always gives us pleasure to call the attention of the Reformers who united with the anti-Tammany faction a year ago to the results of their movement as they gradually develop themselves. This movement, it will be remembered, was directed not only against "Boss" Kelly, but against Tammany Hall itself. The people, we were told, had revolted against the "one-man power" and government through secret societies and "Bosses," and were going to take the power into their own hands and destroy their enemies root and branch. For the purpose of accomplishing this good work we were invited to join a company of gentlemen whom Tammany Hall had purged itself of, on account of their extremely low or doubtful reputation, and to vote for a ticket got up by these popular favorites and thus defeat the regular Tammany nominations, most of which were very good. We declined to accept this invitation; but a great many good people did accept it, the movement was a complete success, and the Anti-Tammany ticket was triumphantly elected. And now what has the result been? Has "Boss" Kelly been made to bite the dust? Has the "one-man power" disappeared, or Tammany Hall been pulled down? None of these things which we were promised have come to pass; but something has happened of a kind which it seems the Reformers, in their moral zeal, did not dream of, though we should have supposed any child would have known that it was going to happen, and that is that Tammany, having been convinced by its formidable opposition that Anti-Tammany is possessed of a considerable political power, feels that it must not be dropped, but must be conciliated, and, accordingly, the public are called in to witness the last scene of the great Reform farce, which consists in a union of Tammany and Anti-Tammany for the division of the spoils, as we are informed in Monday's *Tribune*, on "the basis of representation proposed by Mr. Kelly, about two-fifths to Anti-Tammany and the remainder to Tammany Hall."

The breaking up of the combination to control the production and market price of coal has at length been followed by the downfall of the combination which has been sustaining the market price of Reading shares. For months past there was a standing bid in Philadelphia of 44 for any part of the capital stock of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, and the bid gave the seller sixty days in which to deliver the stock. Soon after the coal combination fell to pieces, a good deal of stock was sold to the brokers who made the bid. As the stock was difficult to borrow, no difficulty was found in "twisting the shorts," as they say in Wall Street, and Reading was suddenly advanced into the fifties, to return later to 44. Early in the week this bid was withdrawn, and the price fell until Monday, when it touched 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ . As the par of Reading stock is 50, the decline amounted to 48 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. It is not absolutely known who were the principal members of the combination which authorized the bid of 44. It is known, however, that the shrinkage in the value of Reading shares has been immense—about \$16,500,000 in less than a week. The futility of the attempt of combinations to resist the inevitable has never been more strikingly illustrated. The coal stocks dealt in in New York have also declined during the week, Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western falling from 74 $\frac{3}{8}$  to 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Delaware and Hudson from 67 to 61 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and New Jersey Central from 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  to 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ . The directors of the first-named road omitted to declare the regular October quarterly dividend, and this led to sales of moderate amounts of stock by small holders and of large amounts by speculators. New Jersey Central, in the latter part of the week, recovered all the early decline and advanced to 29, the attempt to put the Company into the hands of a receiver having failed and the October interest obligations having been met. There

were two auction sales of 100,000 tons each of anthracite coal during the week, and the prices obtained were an average of fully 50 cents per ton above the prices obtained immediately after the breaking up of the coal combination in the latter part of August.

Domestic trade in every part of the country continues good, and in volume very much above any previous season since 1873. There is a fuller employment for money, although rates continue low. The New York banks now hold a surplus reserve of \$16,300,000, or about \$2,000,000 more than at the beginning of October last year, notwithstanding the many withdrawals of gold in the past two weeks by the Syndicate to pay into the Treasury. The official foreign-trade figures for the whole country down to the month of September have appeared, and show that for the eight months ending with the close of August the total imports amounted to \$305,995,732, or \$69,083,779 less than in 1875; the total exports during the same time amounted to \$332,214,773, against \$323,434,455 last year. Including specie, the exports for the first eight months of the year exceed the imports \$101,777,841, whereas the excess of last year was but \$15,843,077. Of course, the movement of securities is not included in the trade figures. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between \$0.9070 and \$0.9101. Silver in London advanced to 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ounce, English standard, and closed at 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. At the end of the week the gold value of the trade-dollar was \$0.8938; the gold value of the old silver dollar would have been \$0.8778.

What Turkey was willing to concede, Tcherniaeff did not mean that Serbia should accept, and on Tuesday he forced an engagement which is reported to have been one of the most serious of the whole war. He attempted to outflank the Turks and cut them off from Nissa; but the substitution of Russian for Servian rank and file had not gone far enough to ensure success, and on the following day the Turks were able to assume the offensive in turn, but without any material change in the situation. Every day's delay, however, makes the front attack more difficult on their part, and so long as Tcherniaeff's rear is unthreatened, and Russian recruits continue to pour into Serbia at the rate they are now doing, the theatre of war cannot be far removed from Alexinatz. Moreover, any brilliant success opening the way for an advance on Belgrade would, it is now evident, be quickly fatal to Turkish interests. While the regular Russian army is contributing without opposition to the ranks of Servian volunteers, the Czar has addressed an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, proposing, it is said, a joint occupation—by Austria, of Bosnia and Herzegovina; by Russia, of Bulgaria; Serbia to be as independent as Roumania, and the Bosphorus to be watched by the fleets of both Powers (or, according to another version, by the fleets of France and England). The Czar insists that the reforms which Turkey may promise she cannot be trusted to carry out, and that the Powers must devise guarantees for themselves. No one can doubt that this is a perfectly sound view to take, and that the guaranty of occupation is the only one worth talking about. But then everybody knows that occupation means permanent control, whether undertaken by Austria or Russia; and Russia's unconcerned putting of Bulgaria in the same category with Bosnia and Herzegovina has produced a cold chill in Europe, as well it may. The days of the Turkish Empire are already numbered if Russian generals may make their headquarters at Philippopolis, while a Russian admiral flies his pennant in the Bosphorus with the consent of Western Europe. Ridiculous as such a state of things may seem, it would be only the logical conclusion of the first and faintest attempt to regulate Turkey's internal affairs by outside pressure or menace. The theory on which such interference can be justified is nothing else than the total incapacity of the Turks to govern either themselves or subject races in a manner which civilized mankind will admit to be even bad government. The "rule of parvenu slaves," as it has been aptly termed, is set and never will be government.

## CAMPAIGN DECEPTIONS.

WHEN we called on Mr. Tilden a few weeks ago to answer the charges of the *Times* with regard to his income-tax, we did so in the full belief that his "true income," as made out by that paper, was based on authentic data, or at all events on reasonably credible information. Now that we find that it was actually for weeks calling him a "perjurer" and "swindler" on the strength of an estimate of his income which was the product partly of guess-work and partly of invention, we feel as if we almost owed an apology both to him and the public for the amount of attention the matter has received in our columns. The charge of "perjury" having been perforce abandoned, we are now asked to consider him dishonest because he allowed himself to be assessed, during the last ten years of the income-tax law, on a taxable income of \$15,000, instead of making a return himself to the assessor; and are informed that, under a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court, he really had no option in the matter, as he says he had, ought to have made his return, and, if he did not pay his full tax, is still liable for the deficit to the Government over and above any penalty imposed by the assessor. The original charge was that, having by "perjury" in 1862 supplied the assessor with a false basis for his estimate, he went on paying less tax than he ought to have paid. Since the "perjury" part of it has broken down, it has undergone the necessary modification. The simple failure to make a return is now elevated to the rank of fraud of a very bad kind, and we are told that this of itself, without the preliminary perjury, proves Mr. Tilden a very unfit man for the Presidency; and it is then assumed that he must have been paying very much less than his due quota of the public burdens from 1862 to 1872, because it is "notorious," or is "generally believed," or is "well known" that during that period he was making large sums of money, and was becoming the very rich man that "everybody knows" him to be to-day.

As to his failure to make a return, we have only this to say: that the view he took, or says he took, of the legality of this failure, was one generally taken until now, and was acted on by large numbers of the most honorable and upright men in the community; that even if the Circuit Court has decided and the Supreme Court shall decide that there existed no such option as was supposed, and that the assessor's penalty was not final, it will simply, like many other revenue decisions, prove that Mr. Tilden and those who agreed with him were mistaken in the law. It will not *prove* that he was a knave. Even if there was any immorality in his paying on the assessor's estimate of his income, there will be no certainty of it until we *know* not only how much his total income during those ten years was, but the amount of it which was taxable—two facts which have no necessary or constant relation. A man's gross income might be very large and his taxable income very small or nil. To establish the amount of his "true income" this time, and the amount of it that was taxable under the law, we shall need something better than the assertions of a campaign paper or popular rumor. Most of the talk about men's fortunes, as everybody knows, is the wildest guessing. We do not know whether Mr. Tilden is a very rich man or not; but, suppose he is, it is easy to think of ways in which he might have become rich without increasing during a few years the amount of his taxable income, and easy to think of ways in which his income might have been increased greatly without increasing the amount liable to taxation. We know nothing on the subject which is not known to all newspaper readers, but we say unhesitatingly that anybody who, after the warning received from the fate of the "perjury" charge, aids or abets in assaults on Mr. Tilden's character based on common rumor or newspaper guesses about his income, will act in an indecent manner. We do not say that the Government may not be able to prove that he received a larger taxable income during the years referred to than \$15,000, but we do say—wait for the proof. Do not condemn a man on newspaper guesses at the condition of his private affairs.

About the likelihood of the Government's being able to prove

anything concerning the amount of Mr. Tilden's income from 1863 to 1872 we have no opinion to offer; but, even if it produced the amount to-morrow in black and white, we should have to wait for Mr. Tilden's statement of his deductions before making up our minds as to his moral position, even supposing the theory that it was wicked to make no return to be sound. Upon one cognate matter we have a very strong opinion. We believe the conduct of the Government in aiding in these attacks on Mr. Tilden by the supply of information to his newspaper assailants which they could have got from no other source, and above all in allowing a citizen's return of his income to be facsimiled for publication from the Government records by a party organ, in order to give a semblance of accuracy to an assault on his reputation, to be a striking illustration of the notions of "civil-service reform" entertained by some of the party leaders. And though we are not ready to ascribe the recent issue of a revenue circular, ordering the prosecution of all persons who, having paid their income-tax under an assessor's estimate, are believed to have paid less than was really due, to partisan motives and a desire to help in discrediting Mr. Tilden, we do say that if the scheme be carried out, it will be a very gross abuse of power. In the first place, to pursue persons on account of their incomes ten years ago, when they have lost their memoranda, might prove in many cases very gross injustice. In the second, nothing could be better calculated to cause a revival of the system of blackmail which was carried on by Sanborn under an act passed to help the Treasury in doing this very thing. Other scoundrels like Sanborn will soon appear to play on the fears or misgivings of the honest as well as the dishonest; for no man can feel perfectly sure that he did not overlook something in making his returns so long ago, and we shall have one more chapter added to the already long and odious history of Republican corruption.

If we are asked why we devote so much space to the discussion of Mr. Tilden's taxes, we answer that they have been made deliberately and of set purpose, both by Republican writers and orators, a prominent topic in the canvass—next to the Southern outrages the most prominent topic—and probably nothing produced in the discussion has thus far had so much influence on voters. Moreover, all kinds of party writers and orators, from *Harper's Weekly* down to the Boshposh *Clarion*, have plunged eagerly into the subject, almost to the exclusion of everything else. Now, if Mr. Tilden is to be beaten at the polls on account of his personal character, we hold it to be of the last importance to the cause of public morals that the view of his character which defeats him shall be the true view; that if he perishes he shall not perish of "campaign lies," concocted and circulated in the very heat of the fray, when there is little time or opportunity for examination. In other words, if we are to have a villain in this canvass, we must have a genuine and not a show villain got up for electioneering purposes. In the second place, all right-minded men will be properly put on their guard with regard to these Tilden charges by the fact that they are made by politicians who are themselves corrupt and have as yet shown no signs of shame or repentance. Their old chiefs—themselves, as has been well said, "part of the thing to be reformed"—are still at the head of the "reform movement." There is every known sign, except the tardy denunciations of the Boston papers, that Butler is very popular with the party in his own State. Blaine, whose railroad transactions formed the last of the Republican "exposures," and whose defeat, though by only a few votes, was considered a great triumph of the reform interest at Cincinnati, is gradually but surely coming to the front as the most influential and popular orator of the canvass, and has even gone to Ohio, he says in a published letter, at "the request of Governor Hayes." He is, in fact, unless Mr. Hayes is a man of extraordinary nerve and resolution, at this moment, according to recognized party usage and tradition, the most prominent candidate for a place in the next Republican cabinet; and if he gets it, let us warn reformers, it will be a sign and proof that the movement for "reform within the party" has again proved a disas-



trous failure. We, therefore, who see clearly that the battle of reform will not be over in one year or two, and may be not in ten, would warn those whose hearts are in the cause that the need for caution and vigilance is as great as it has ever been; that whichever way they vote at the coming election, they ought to vote with their eyes open, and on facts and considerations they have well examined, and not on curbstone rumors about Tilden's taxes or private fortune; and that they ought to protect themselves carefully against that most fruitful source of discouragement—a consciousness of having been easily duped.

#### JUDGES AND WITNESSES.

THE proceedings in the recent Bravo poisoning case have raised a good deal of discussion in England as to the license of counsel in cross-examination—a question which recent trials in this country have shown to possess no little interest for us also. In the Bravo inquest, as in the Tichborne case and the Beecher trial of last year, the cross-examination of the witnesses was pushed into matters very remotely connected with the issue under trial, so that the general result of the enquiry was not, as in most cases, the eliciting of a certain number of facts bearing on the question in court, but a complete revelation of the whole private life of a family, or of a certain part of it, and even of a whole circle of families. The glaring exposure of matters usually kept close, and not even talked about, formed in fact the great fascination of these *causes célèbres*. It is difficult at the first blush to see how in the Beecher trial Tilton's eccentric nocturnal habits could have thrown any light upon the question of Beecher's guilt; nor in the Tichborne case was it at all apparent that an answer to the enquiry put to one witness—whether he had, at some distant period of time, had improper relations with some person not connected with the case—could even remotely tend to settle the Claimant's identity. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, discussing this kind of cross-examination resorted to for the purpose of breaking down the credit of a witness—of “showing him up” to the jury, and thus inducing them to pay less attention to his evidence than they otherwise would—has stated the case in the following manner: Suppose, it says, that the legislature of a free country were some fine morning to pass a law authorizing any one who chose to take it into his head, to compel any inhabitant of the country to answer any questions he might think fit to put with regard to the other's moral character, his relations with his parents, brothers and sisters, wife and children, his business affairs, his property, his debts, and in fact his whole private life, and to do all this without there being any dispute between them or even any alleged grievance; what would be thought of such a law? Would it be endured for an instant? Now, this, the *Pall Mall Gazette* continues, is to-day the law of England. It is just this odious tyranny which any one, by bringing a suit, can, under the vague and almost unlimited power to punish for “contempt of court,” force submission to.

The law on this subject is, generally speaking, the same in the United States as in England, and this tyranny, if it really exists, weighs upon us as heavily as it does upon Englishmen. The first question that suggests itself is whether this is really a fair statement of the law; and, of course, the *Pall Mall Gazette* admits that there exist limitations of the right of cross-examination, but it contends that these are so undefined as to amount to little or nothing in the way of protection. The authorities contain little on the subject, except that cross-examination as to credit is allowed to go very far, and that judges may in their discretion stop it when it goes too far. But judicial discretion is proverbially an uncertain thing. It varies not merely with the court, but even in the same judge it is affected by the state of his temper, his curiosity, his feelings toward the counsel who is examining, and by a thousand other things that no one can know anything about or depend upon. Usually it is easier not to exercise than to exercise discretion, and the result is that the right of cross-examination is usually unchecked, and in most important cases, which

are widely reported, the right is pushed to lengths which, with witnesses of any sensibility, amount to a process of slow torture. If the right is abused in England, it is unquestionably abused here; and probably at the time of the Beecher trial we should have had complaints about it but for the fact that in the singular society in which the parties to that case lived, a craving for notoriety had been developed which made any discussion of their private affairs less disagreeable than it is to most people. But with the great majority of mankind there is nothing more odious than the extraction by a sharp, hostile lawyer, from their own unwilling lips, of the details of their moral history. There is probably no one in existence, however good, and however quiet his conscience may be, who can endure without a shudder the thought of every transaction of his past life being dragged out in a court of justice for the amusement of a gaping crowd. Exactly how far the right is abused, and how far the discretionary powers of courts to limit its abuse accomplish their end, it is impossible to say, for it is only in sporadic cases of unusual importance that interest in the result is strong enough to warrant a lawyer's going to great length in cross-examination, and usually, too, it should be said for the credit of the profession, reputable lawyers shrink from outraging a witness's sensibility; but after everything is admitted that can be admitted in favor of the existing state of the law, it is impossible to deny that the door is left very wide open to disgraceful assaults upon credit which inflict serious and irreparable damage.

The difficulty is not in pointing out the evil, which is plain enough, but in suggesting a remedy. The rights of cross-examination are among the most important that the machinery of our law provides for the discovery of facts, and on the credibility of witnesses all cases hinge. The moment we begin to limit it by fixed rules we enter on dangerous ground. It might seem as if the solution of the problem lay in the enactment of a rule that witnesses should only be cross-examined as to their general reputation with regard to truth, and as to the matters involved in the case directly affecting their credibility; but this would by no means do. Suppose, for instance, that the suit is a common action for the purchase-money of a piece of cloth, and the defendant brings a witness who swears that he saw the defendant pay the money to the plaintiff, while the plaintiff has only his own evidence to rely upon in proof of non-payment; if, in such a case, the plaintiff were merely allowed to cross-examine the witness directly, he would in all probability lose the case, as the testimony would be two to one against him, and the story of the witness, as the only disinterested person, would probably be believed by the jury. But suppose that, on cross-examination, it turns out that this witness can give no good account of his manner of earning his living or of his place of residence; that he had been arrested not long before as a vagrant, and that down to the time of the action he had no respectable clothes, and that he suddenly became possessed of some; that he deserted from the army immediately after getting his bounty-money, and so on—there can be little doubt that his credit with the jury would be much impaired, and justly so, although no direct evidence of his being a perjurer had been introduced, and not a particle of his testimony had been strictly controverted. Every one who has followed with any care the evidence taken in celebrated murder trials or divorce cases knows how frequently a rigid cross-examination lays bare motives and prejudices on the part of witnesses which, often without their knowing it themselves, tend to bias their account of facts.

The problem, therefore, is to devise some means by which these benefits of a searching cross-examination may be retained, and yet the abuse got rid of. The only feasible way of meeting the difficulty yet proposed is that of drawing up a series of rules or general directions as to evidence, which shall not attempt to prescribe formal limits for cross-examination, but shall lay down in explicit words the general principles which should govern a judge in such cases. These rules would practically be a definition of the “discretion” he is now supposed to exercise. They would, for example, direct him

not to allow an examination into matters so remote in time from the case in hand that they can have no bearing on the credibility of the witness; nor to allow questions to be put which are plainly malicious, and asked for the purpose of irritating the witness; nor to allow any examination into transactions which, though they may have a bearing on the character of a witness, have none on his credibility—*e.g.*, an enquiry, in a murder case, of a witness in good standing, as to domestic difficulties with a deceased wife. It is not easy to lay down beforehand any rules by which we can discriminate the kind of evidence as to transactions involving moral character which ought not to affect credibility, but every one can easily imagine instances of such evidence. General directions of the kind we have just suggested are no more than a formal enunciation of the manner in which the "discretion" of a good judge would be and is exercised. They do not change the law, but they remind judges of what they may forget, and they may be appealed to by a persecuted witness with far more certainty than judicial "discretion." In the Indian code, which is probably the best body of law that the legal reform movement begun by Bentham in the last century has yet produced, rules of this kind have been laid down, and we believe have been found to work with success.

#### THE ISOLATION OF RUSSIA.

PARIS, September 8, 1876.

A MEMBER of Parliament, well known for his exuberant wit, but somewhat deficient in good taste, was once chaffing Disraeli on his extraordinary attentions to Lady Beaconsfield, who was still alive. Disraeli always behaved to her like a true paladin, or a geographer of the *carte du Tendre*. He did not much like the remarks which were made to him, and finally he got up and quietly said: "Well, I am afraid *you* don't know what gratitude means." There may be, there is, gratitude between individuals. Is there such a thing between nations? This is a question which Russia may well ask at the present moment, when she turns her eyes in the direction of Berlin. The Servian drama is drawing to its close, and the moral of the tale can now well be drawn. The agitation in Herzegovina was the beginning of the sad story which history will have to relate. This agitation was artificial, kept up from the outside. Everything at the time seemed quiet in Europe; the three emperors saw each other at regular intervals, they exchanged uniforms, they kissed each other in railway stations. The triple alliance found its first expression in the Andrassy Note. Bismarck thus early kept himself back and put his Hungarian colleague forward. Then came the Memorandum; this time Prince Gortchakoff was put forward by the German chancellor. The Memorandum was a much more serious affair than the Andrassy Note; it was ominous at the close, and there was in its last paragraph a vague threat of a common intervention in Turkey. Gortchakoff did not see the danger; he was full of confidence; he believed in Bismarck; he forgot that once Russia saved Austria from complete destruction. When the revolution was triumphant in Vienna, and Hungary had become independent, Russian armies entered Hungary and the capitulation of Comorn was the end of the struggle. Austria was saved; and who does not remember the famous prediction uttered at the time: "Austria will some day astonish the world by her ingratitude." The time came when Austria could have paid her debt—when Lord Palmerston and Napoleon III. became allies and resolved to make war against Russia. The Crimean war would not have taken place if Austria had stood by the side of Nicholas. The Czar could never believe that he would be given up alone to the occidental powers. He died broken-hearted, full of impotent rage against ungrateful Austria. Russia has not saved Northern Germany from ruin, but she has rendered invaluable services to the new German Empire. Since the days of the last Polish insurrection, when the alliance was struck between the two northern emperors, Bismarck's hands have been completely free. In the Schleswig-Holstein question, in the war against Austria which ended at Sadowa, finally in the great war against France, Russia stood by the side of Prussia as a sort of invisible ally. No armies of observation were ever necessary on the Vistula, in the Duchy of Posen, on the long Russian frontier. The whole strength of the Confederation was thrown against France. The Czar has ever spoken of the victories of his imperial nephew in the tone of an enthusiast; he allowed himself to speak of France as the "gemeiner Feind"; he gave flags to the con-

querors of Sedan, heaped honors, crosses, and ribbons on the Prussian generals. Will Prussia ever astonish the world by her ingratitude?

We see her now completely silent, and in an attitude of observation. Her hand probably set fire to the Herzegovinian match, but since the Memorandum she has not made a move. Bismarck is always at Varzin. Gortchakoff felt so strong at the time of the interview at Ems that he did not even send the text of the Memorandum to England by a courier; he sent it *by the telegraph*; and for what reason do you suppose? Because he was in a great hurry to go to Wildbad, where his smiling face is a part of the landscape every year during the summer season. To those who told him that he was treating England very unceremoniously, that perhaps she would not sign, he answered with the most perfect assurance: "Elle signera." Well, she did not sign, and her refusal was the beginning of the present difficulties. One of the consequences has been that Prince Gortchakoff could not go, not even for a day, to Wildbad, which is in itself an event as extraordinary as a total eclipse of the sun.

The victories of the Turks have placed Russia in the most painful situation; the Christians are more oppressed than they have ever been; Russia is further than ever she was from Constantinople. Prince Gortchakoff evidently made great miscalculations; he first overlooked one great fact—*viz.*, that he is the Chancellor, not the Emperor of Russia. Now, it is well known that the Emperor will not hear of war; he remembers how his father was forced into the Crimean war, and what misfortunes fell upon his country in consequence of it. He has accomplished a great and immense work, the emancipation of the serfs, and he is contented with it. He holds reviews, and has all sorts of fine military uniforms; but he is not a soldier; he hates war, and he says so. He says it so often and so loud that it is a great pity that his diplomacy should ever enter into what is called a "question," especially into a question so full of snares and dangers as the Eastern Question. For, after all, there is no use writing despatches if behind your despatches one don't see the light artillery of *ultimatums* and *points*, and behind this the real, heavy bronze or steel artillery. Arguments are thrown to the wind if they don't cover battalions. Your chancellors are nothing if they are mere scribes and sophists, and if they cannot open the door of the council-room to the commander-in-chief of the army. As Talleyrand once said: "Quand je ne peux plus être civil, je cède la place au militaire."

Bismarck has very hard names for everybody; he once called Prince Gortchakoff "das alte Weib." The expression is perhaps not too severe if Prince Gortchakoff entered into the Eastern Question without having any guarantee either from his own sovereign or from Prince Bismarck. We cannot yet tell what he may have in store; to the mere observer of passing events it would seem as if all the Pan-slavish agitation were of no avail, and as if the Czar were resigned to everything. On the other hand, it would seem as if Berlin were now nearer London than St. Petersburg; there are signs of some sort of understanding between England, Germany, and Austria, for Austria is now always drawn into the orbit of Germany. I don't say that Russia is isolated; she certainly seems isolated; she is now turning her eyes, in her great humiliation, towards France. France certainly has no sympathy for the Turkish cause; she has been horrified by the atrocities committed in Bulgaria; but France is helpless; she can do nothing for those who have helped to deprive her of her finest provinces. Who entered a word of protest, I do not say after Würth, or after Sedan, but when the treaty of Frankfurt was signed? Who showed the slightest pity for our sufferings? In whom can we believe? It is for us now to say: "La France ne boude pas, elle se recueille."

Far be it from me to boast of the influence of the "grande nation" in Europe; nobody feels more keenly than I do what we have lost; nobody has analyzed with a more painful interest our national defects and wants. I had no illusions when the great cry of "regeneration" was uttered after the misfortunes of the war. The revolutionary poison is working its way into the finest blood-vessels of the nation. Between the unreasonableness of Ultramontane Catholicism and the rude and coarse teachings of the Darwinist and materialist school, our youth grow up without any moral teaching. Our politicians have become a class as corrupt and unprincipled as can be found in a South American republic. Still something survives—the good sense of the rural classes, the spirit of industry and economy, the military spirit of discipline, the disinterested love of country; and it is certainly marvellous to find France, after so short a time, still compact, united, rich, and more prosperous, in a material sense, than any country in Europe. Her place cannot be filled; every country in turn will feel that "there is something rotten" in Europe since we have been despoiled of our natural defences.

Russia's turn has come. How eagerly the Russians now surround our



Minister of Foreign Affairs! It seems as if he were the arbiter of their destiny. The Duke Decazes has become suddenly very popular in Russia and very unpopular in London. And why? For this simple reason: the Duke Decazes affixed his signature to the Gortchakoff Memorandum without waiting until he heard of the resolution of Lord Derby. How could he well refuse to do so? Three emperors, three powerful chancellors, came to him and said: "We wish to do something for the Christians in the East; we have made our programme; do you approve it?" The duke signed as a matter of course. He had no conflict of interests with Russia; he could send no fleet to the Bay of Besika; he has no road to India to defend; he is not the representative of the greatest Mussulman nation in the world. The signature of France was a mere act of courtesy and nothing more; but it has been interpreted as a rupture with England and the beginning of an alliance with Russia. Alas! we cannot afford now to have enemies or friends; we are alone—"moi seul, et ce n'est pas assez." Russia also finds herself alone; she feels that England and Germany are ready to enter into a league against her. Grossdeutschland is not at all likely to forget the old theories about the necessary influence of the Germans in the valley of the Danube. Bismarck has always coquetted with the Hungarians, who are the secular enemies of the Slavs. If the Tories remain in power long, if Disraeli is allowed to have his own way, we must expect, I believe, to see a sort of coalition of England, Germany, and Austria against Russia. But will the Tories remain in power? The agitation against them seems to gain much ground. The Bulgarian atrocities has become a basis of operations for the Liberals. If Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and their friends come back to power, then the whole aspect of things would be changed; but it is idle to expatiate upon the consequences of an event which is still so doubtful. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

#### THE SWISS LIBERAL CATHOLIC CHURCH.

GENEVA, September 8.

THE constitution of the Old Catholic, Liberal Catholic, National Catholic, Christian Catholic Church (this last is the name finally pitched upon) may be, and doubtless is, ecclesiastically and religiously a failure. But then it is a political success, at least for the present. It has completely solved the difficulty under which some of the cantons lay—notably Berne and Geneva—of being under treaty obligation to support Catholic churches and clergymen in the Catholic part of their territory. It has enabled these cantons to turn out the whole hierarchy of Ultramontane clergy neck and heels from their churches and parsonages, and even, in some cases, to banish them for a time from the republic. And, on the other hand, it has enabled them to confer churches, parsonages, and salaries on a new set of stipendiaries of their own who are far from having any conscientious scruples against a cordial support of the Government—that is, of the party in power that gave them their offices. How good a thing it is to have enough of such officers posted in every parish any member of a State Central Committee will be able to inform you. The "Liberal-Radical" party used to be devoted to the idea of church disestablishment; but since the new church organization has been set up they do not take the same interest in the subject; in fact, they prefer the present arrangement.

Just at the present writing they are busy at Bonn in bringing out the topstone of the new (beg pardon!) the Old Catholic Church, in the consecration of Professor Herzog as Bishop of Switzerland. "For moral effect" (so one of the Liberal Catholic clergy told me) they had meant to have this solemnity at Soleure, partly because it was the capital of a Catholic canton and famous as the old-time residence of a bishop, and partly because there were magnificent churches there that could be taken possession of for the occasion, by consent of the Liberal Government, to the horror and impotent rage of the Ultramontane occupants. But the clergy of St. Ours, the most conspicuous and cathedral-like of these churches, refuse to give place, and have thus defeated the sacrilege; but the result is that the citizens of Soleure promptly hold a meeting, and resolve to proceed without delay to elect a new staff of clergy for the town; for it is a notorious fact that this Catholic city is Liberal Catholic by a large majority, and that the people have been waiting these four years for a convenient occasion to vote their present pastors out of doors.

But, as I have said, instead of Bishop Reinkens coming to Soleure to consecrate Mr. Herzog, Herzog goes to Reinkens at Bonn, metropolitan city of Old Catholicism. This is not grateful to Swiss patriotism; and both in Germany and in Switzerland the Old Catholic movement is much more an affair of patriotism than of religion. The question is muttered quite audibly whether it was on the whole so much worse for the bishop

elect to go South for his pallium than to go North for his consecration. Geneva, on hearing of the proposed change, made haste to telegraph to Mr. Herzog, enquiring, in the spirit of Naaman the Syrian, whether Berne and Geneva, cities of Switzerland, were not better for the purpose than all the towns of Germany, and offering for the solemnity their large and splendid church of Notre Dame, built (at no expense to them) by Bishop Mermillod. However, this little irritation will be forgotten, and the new ecclesiastical structure will, in a day or two, be completed.

The new church came near having no bishop at all. The constituent body that had the ordering of its polity was all ready to establish and run it on democratic principles, but was dissuaded by the prayers and entreaties of some of its clerical members. It consented to retain the office of bishop, on condition that it should be stripped of all authority. Consequently in this "constitutional church" the bishop is kept, like the queen bee in a hive, simply for breeding purposes. His sole function is to ordain; and this he may do, and *must* do, when required by the body of laymen that are over him, and not otherwise. Considering what a miscreant crew of free-thinking politicians these laymen are, it is no wonder that Hyacinthe and his friends consider their tutelage an inadequate security for Catholic order and orthodoxy.

As to the amount of religious vitality in the new Church, there is little information to be got from the reported statistics. The German Old Catholics return so many hundred thousand adherents, and so many congregations, and complacently invite comparison with the growth of the Lutheran Reformation for a like period. But *such* adherents and *such* congregations it is simply delusive to compare with the ardent believers and throngs of fervid worshippers that followed the standard of the great Reformation. The Old Catholic voter is faithful to his religious duties on election-day, when there are churches to be appropriated, or priests to be annoyed with vexatious laws, or monks or nuns to be harried out of the canton; but on other Sundays he puts his unbaptized baby into a perambulator, and walks out with his wife to adore the God of nature in the suburbs; or if (as is commonly the case) he be not a family man, he practises the fellowship of the saints at a cabaret or cafe. This explains how it is that *Notre Dame de Genève*, after having been taken possession of in the name of a majority of the Catholic citizens, shows a beggarly attendance of a score or two of persons, while the *new* Notre Dame, built by voluntary contribution for the extruded clergy and congregation, is thronged with worshippers. In the country villages the contrast is even more violent—only in two or three, so far as I can find on enquiry, is the "*intrus*" or "*apostat*" (these are the names by which the new curés are commonly spoken of in conversation) making progress in securing the good will of his parishioners.

For another indication of the strength of the new movement, I would suggest that the statistics of church-building be looked up. I have not access to the figures at this moment, if there are any figures. But I should like to know whether anywhere in Europe the Old Catholics (who in some places have bitterly complained of being debarred from the use of churches) have ever built a church for themselves, in all these seven years. On the other hand, in the Roman Catholic regions hereabout, and in some of the Ultramontane Swiss cantons, new churches spring up like the grass of the earth; and in the cantons where the parish churches have been handed over to the Liberals, new buildings have been at once erected to supply the want.

Since I have got so far on this topic, I may as well go through with it. The character of the new clergy inspires no good hope for their work. I have some correspondents among the curés of a region where the "Reformation" has been pushed forward by the Government with special energy. They write to me from time to time the most urgent letters imploring my aid in finding them wives (any lady wishing to be considered as a candidate may apply to me through the *Nation* office), and giving me occasional hints about the state of the kingdom of heaven as represented by themselves. I get the impression very unmistakably, from this trustworthy source, that their colleagues throughout that region are scalawags. Their account of them is more specific and therefore more impressive, but it may be summed up in this favorite Americanism. There are eminently worthy and respectable men among this clergy; and I do not exclude from this worthy category those whose "coming out of Babylon" has been partly because they wanted to marry a particular person. But the best of them may be divided into gushing sentimentalists like Hyacinthe, and men of a scholastic conscience like the German theological leaders—men who have the notion that a great popular religious revolution can be founded on arguments about the genuineness of the Decretals. The main religious value of the movement is as a crucial test of Mr. Matthew Arnold's preposterous paradox that great religious movements always succeed on a merely nega-

tive basis—that apostles, reformers, confessors, and martyrs commonly toil and suffer for what they don't believe. What the basis of the present motionless movement really is has never been so well summed up as when, five years ago, with a sudden and solitary gleam of inspiration that shot through the sombre and nebulous wit of the German *Punch*, the position of Dr. Döllinger was thus defined by *Klabautersch*: "I freely concede, if you insist upon it, that two and two make five; but not all the tortures of the Inquisition shall ever extort from me the confession that two and two make six."

Visitors to Geneva are always interested to ask, What is Hyacinthe accomplishing? and are often disappointed to learn that he is accomplishing nothing. Since his secession from the Liberal Catholics, he has simply been running a conventicle, much frequented by travellers and others who admire his fervid and poetic declamation. I can find no evidence that he is doing anything that will not disappear the moment he leaves it. I have reluctantly given up the hope that he has any important or useful career before him, or that there is any great future for the religious movement in which he was at one time the most conspicuous figure. Still, as these easy-going reformers are quite too fond of saying, there is no knowing what may turn up when the Pope dies; and if complete religious liberty should be established in France, something may be wrought among the impressionable Celts by the congenial eloquence of their now exiled fellow-citizen.

#### THE WAGNER PERFORMANCES.

##### II.

BAYREUTH, August 31, 1876.

IMMEDIATELY before the grand ending of "Rheingold" two mysteries presented themselves—the secret purpose to which *Wotan* referred in naming the castle Walhalla, and the motive which at the same time sounded for a moment from the orchestra. The explanation of both follows in "Die Walküre." Alarmed at the brief but significant prophecy of *Erda*, *Wotan* determined to strengthen the defences of the gods by an addition of heroes. To this end he begot nine daughters, one of them *Brünnhilde*, by the all-wise *Erda*. These he called *Walküren* or *Valkyries*, because their duty was to choose (*küren*) the slain (*Wid*). They were to watch over conflicts, and to carry to Walhalla, the hall of the slain, those heroes who were worthy to live among the gods. With this force *Wotan* hoped to repel any attack made by the possessor of the ring. But *Erda* warned him that, should the ring fall again into *Atherich's* hands, his force of heroes would be of no avail. He must exert himself, therefore, to restore the ring to the Rhine daughters. But it has been paid, in ransom of *Freia*, to the giants; and *Fafner*, who with characteristic stupidity has used the Tarnhelm to transform himself into a dragon, keeps watch over both ring and treasure. Bound by the compact which necessitated the payment of the ring, *Wotan* cannot disturb *Fafner* in its possession, since as the defender of oaths and compacts among gods and men, he must be the last to violate them. He seeks, therefore, a hero who, of his own free will, shall kill the dragon and restore the ring to its rightful owners. He leaves the company of the gods. A mortal wife bears him twin children, *Siegmond* and *Sieglinde*, and through the former, he trusts, the safety of the gods shall be assured. For years the father wanders with his son, teaching him deeds of prowess; but on returning home from one of their exploits they find the house burned, the mother killed, the daughter carried away. For a while they wander together in the guise of wolves; but *Siegmond* suddenly loses trace of his father, and finally meets with the adventure which precedes the opening of "Die Walküre." Having attempted to defend a maiden who is compelled to marry against her will, *Siegmond*, after killing a number of his opponents, loses his weapons, and is forced to flee. In the midst of a storm, he comes to the very house where his sister, *Sieglinde*, lives as the wife of her captor, *Hunding*.

Freed from the restraints imposed upon it in "Rheingold," the genius of Herr Wagner bursts forth in "Die Walküre" with all its vigorous spontaneity. The splendid opening movement, expressive of a storm, indicates at once in the composer a consciousness of his freedom to give the fullest expression to his feeling. The opening of the curtain discloses a room in the centre of which an immense ash-tree rises and supports the roof. *Siegmond* pushes open the door and falls exhausted on the hearth. In a moment *Sieglinde* appears, and, in response to the stranger's call, gives him a drinking-horn and bids him welcome. Their glances meet: years have passed and they do not recognize one another, but a strange sympathy holds them motionless. At length *Siegmond*, thankful for his refreshment, starts to go away; unhappiness follows him everywhere, and he

will not bring it to this house. But *Sieglinde* tells him it is there already, and bids him stay. At this moment *Hunding* returns home. *Sieglinde* explains the stranger's coming, and her husband welcomes him. As they sit together, *Siegmond* gives an account of his life. He calls himself the son of *Wolfe*, borrowing the name from the wolf's guise in which he had last lived with his father. He tells, finally, of his recent adventure, and how he came to be unarmed. On hearing this account, *Hunding* jumps up enraged; the men killed are his own kinsmen. For the night *Siegmond* shall have the shelter of the house, but on the morrow he must fight. Ordering his wife to prepare his bed, *Hunding* follows her into another room.

This entire first part of the act is manifestly wonderfully adapted to musical treatment. What music excels all arts in depicting is the purely emotional striving—the longing for something that is not—which constitutes desire. The inferiority of music to the other arts lies in the indefiniteness of its expression. To one hearer the desire expressed may be a striving of the soul of man, to another a striving of the elements of nature. But in the combination of music with the drama the characters become at once the required definite objects to which the music, shall attach. And this first scene of "Die Walküre" is remarkable for the fact that the characters which are to give definiteness to the music, are marked by that very feature which music is best able to express—an indefinite longing. *Siegmond*, for years a wanderer, has longed for home and rest without ever finding it. *Sieglinde*, forced to marry without love, never finds the sympathy she desires. Both have lived lives of anticipated, but unattained, satisfaction of hope. This is wonderfully expressed by the composer. From the beginning of the act, the infinite yearning of the music gains increase of tenderness with each successive note, and reaches finally a surprising loveliness which the fierce motive and the knocks of *Hunding* interrupt. During *Siegmond's* story of his life, the same beautiful motive of his first meeting with *Sieglinde* recurs again and again, when she questions him or when their glances meet, lasting with indescribable beauty as she leaves the room followed by her husband. But, as she crosses the threshold, she points back to the ash-tree. Then is heard again, as the glimmer of the fire falls upon a sword buried in the tree almost up to its hilt, the motive which occurred for the first time at the close of "Rheingold." *Siegmond*, left alone, calls in despair upon his father—who, we know, is with the gods in Walhalla—for the sword which he had promised should not be wanting in the hour of need. The remainder of the act defies description. The fire brightens, and *Siegmond* notices for the first time the glittering sword-hilt. He thinks it is the light of *Sieglinde's* eyes, and the motive of their meeting returns. But words cannot describe those splendors of tone-coloring in which the motives of the sword and of Walhalla are here blended with others. Far less is it possible to describe the succeeding love-scene. It stands alone in the intensity of its passion; and the throbbings of the orchestra must find a hearer of extraordinary coldness if they do not impart some of their passionate impulse to the coursings of his veins. *Sieglinde*, who has given her husband a sleeping-potion, returns to save *Siegmond*. She tells him how, on her wedding-day, an old man had thrust the sword into the tree and departed, saying that it should belong to him who could draw it forth; but many had tried in vain. *Siegmond* hails the fulfilment of his father's promise. But at this moment the outer door swings open and the moonlight of a lovely spring night streams into the room. *Siegmond*, in a song beautiful in words and music, sings of spring led on by love to break the bonds of winter. "You are the spring," cries *Sieglinde*, "for whom I have longed." And then, at *Sieglinde's* solicitation, *Siegmond* tells his name. She declares herself his sister, and, drawing the sword from the tree, he embraces her as "sister and bride."

Such is the repulsive ending with which Herr Wagner has seen fit to close this otherwise beautiful act. It is justified as an allegorical picture of love leading on the spring, but there is no intimation on *Siegmond's* part that he considers himself spring or love or anybody but *Siegmond*. Whether the scene exists or not in the original myths is quite beside the question, since Herr Wagner has not hesitated to adapt them to his convenience. It can only have been introduced in disregard of all modern associations, or as an intimation, perhaps, that they had better be changed; and in either case it is equally reprehensible.

The second act, like the first, includes but one scene, supposed to be in the neighborhood of *Hunding's* house. On one side the rocks rise and terminate in a steep cliff; on the other, a passage under them forms a natural bridge and affords a view of the descent to the valley below. *Wotan* calls his best beloved *Walküre*, *Brünnhilde*, and tells her to give the victory in the approaching conflict with *Hunding* to *Siegmond*. But *Fricka* appears, and, as the defender of the sacredness of marriage, demands *Siegmond's*



punishment with death. *Wotan* thinks no wrong has been done, and reminds his wife that through *Siegmund* he has a great purpose to fulfil. Refusing to listen to such excuses, she finally extorts an oath from *Wotan* that *Siegmund* shall die. The god recalls *Brünnhilde* and reverses his commands. Then follows a scene in which an epic tendency seems to have overcome Herr Wagner's usually acute sense of dramatic fitness. *Wotan* gives a synopsis, at great length, of all the events with which "Rheingold" has made us acquainted, explaining thereby the important position which *Siegmund* holds in relation to the safety of the gods. This is all necessary in order to establish the connection—which I anticipated in my description—between "Rheingold" and "Die Walküre." But how undramatic for him to go into the precise details of an autobiography at the very time when he is supposed to be overcome with despair at the frustration of his plans! And how inappropriate for him to relate the matter to *Brünnhilde*, who, we are told later by *Edu* herself, shares her mother's gift of a knowledge of the past and future! It certainly seems that all the essential facts might have been presented briefly by *Wotan* with much more dramatic fitness in his discussion with *Fricka*. At all events, there can be no doubt that in this scene Herr Wagner's method of composition got the better of his judgment. The dramas of the "Ring des Nibelungen" were composed, so far as the poetry is concerned, in reverse order. "Götterdämmerung" was the first and "Rheingold" the last to be written. As there was, consequently, no "Rheingold" in existence when its author was writing "Die Walküre," the fact that he did not presuppose a knowledge of its events is not without excuse, though decidedly without forethought.

Having finished his monologue, *Wotan* departs. The last appeal of *Brünnhilde*—that she might not be obliged to interpose her spear and nullify the force of the sword in which *Siegmund* trusted—had met only with threats of punishment from *Wotan* for any disobedience of his orders. At the sight of *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde* approaching, *Brünnhilde* stands aside. They have fled from the house of *Hunding*. Half frantic with remorse and fear for *Siegmund's* life, *Sieglinde* can scarcely endure her excitement. *Hunding's* horn is heard, and she swoons in *Siegmund's* arms. As he lays her gently on a resting-place, *Brünnhilde* approaches. She tells him he must follow her to Walhalla; that the sword in which he trusts shall fail him. But he scorns Walhalla and its wish-maidens if *Sieglinde* is absent. His sword shall serve, at least, to let them die together. He lifts it to strike the unconscious form, when the cry of *Brünnhilde* checks him. Deeply moved, she tells him he shall live; his sword shall not prove useless. At this moment the shouts of the pursuing *Hunding* are heard. *Siegmund* rushes forth to meet him. Clouds fill the stage, but through them, on the top of the rocks, the fight is seen. *Brünnhilde*, who stands in the clouds above them, cries to *Siegmund* to trust to his sword. But, with lightning and thunder, *Wotan* appears. On his interposed spear the sword breaks in pieces, and *Siegmund* is killed. At a contemptuous wave of the god's hand *Hunding* falls dead; and *Wotan* starts in pursuit of his disobedient daughter, who has already carried *Sieglinde* away with her on her horse. In this second act, as in the first, an exuberant vigor marks the opening movement of the music. *Wotan's* long discourse prevents that steady progress towards a climax which characterized the preceding act; but the closing scene, beginning with the coming of *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*, is of the greatest power and beauty. The dramatic effect of *Sieglinde's* intense excitement is greatly heightened by the recurrence of the motives of her first meeting with *Siegmund* and of the love-scene, which are not undisturbed, however, by the sound of *Hunding's* horn. And nothing could exceed the touching pathos of the orchestra as *Brünnhilde* approaches and sees the prostrate form over which *Siegmund* bends. At her mention of Walhalla, its grand motive returns. The contrast between this and the sad expression of *Siegmund's* fidelity gives to both him and *Brünnhilde* throughout the dialogue a distinct individuality. The dramatic intensity continually increases, and reaches a magnificent height when *Brünnhilde* promises her protection. Finally, as *Siegmund*, on the approach of *Hunding*, takes a last look at *Sieglinde*, all the memories of the previous act, the motives of the first meeting and of the spring-song, seem to crowd upon him, and the effect is indescribable.

The scene of the third act is on the top of a mountain. A cavern is formed by the rocks on the right, and the opposite edge of the summit is bounded by a forest; in the background a rock, projecting high above the surrounding boulders, commands a view of the depths below. Storm-clouds drift past, and through them are seen the mounted Walküren, who ride to Walhalla with their slain warriors, and then gather on this summit. Every bar of the music is full of the freshness of a breezy mountain top, full of neighing of glad horses, full of the wild laughter of their riders as they

gallop frantically down steep banks of clouds. The "Ride of the Valkyries" has been heard often in the concert-room; but visions of tempest and tossing manes and hair from which the wind has snatched away all bands, making each maiden a Miranda, are forbidden in such a place. Her sisters have scarcely gathered on the height when *Brünnhilde* arrives with *Sieglinde*. She begs their swiftest horse to aid *Sieglinde* in escaping *Wotan's* wrath. They refuse to second her disobedience. Already the god is seen approaching in a storm-cloud. But *Sieglinde* will not put them to any trouble; separated from *Siegmund*, she is ready to die. She must live, cries *Brünnhilde*, for the sake of the child she shall bear. At hearing this a sudden joy takes the place of *Sieglinde's* depression; she is eager to make every effort for safety. The Walküren advise her to take shelter in the wood near by, where *Fafner*, whom *Wotan* avoids, lies guarding his treasure. *Brünnhilde* gives her the fragments of *Siegmund's* sword, telling her to keep them for her son, who will be the noblest hero in the world. *Brünnhilde* will herself name him: he shall be called *Siegfried*, glad with victory. For the first time the heroic motive of *Siegfried* rises from the orchestra. *Wotan's* arrival follows quickly upon *Sieglinde's* departure. *Brünnhilde* has hidden herself behind her sisters, but he calls on her to come forth. She, who had known all the secrets of his heart, shall be banished from the society of the gods. Walküre no longer, she shall be cast into a sleep from which the first man who finds her may waken her and have her for his wife. Shocked at such a punishment, the Walküren break out in lamentations. *Wotan* dismisses them, and listens to the entreaties of *Brünnhilde*. She begs that he will so far relent as to surround her with a circle of fire, so that none but the bravest hero shall be able to awaken her. His love for her returns, and he grants her request. He kisses her eyes and they close in sleep. Under a sheltering tree he covers her with her shield, and then calling upon *Loge*, by whose advice he had entered into the compact which had brought him all his trouble, he strikes the rock with his spear and transforms the crafty adviser into the fire which was his original state. The flames leap up from the outer edge of the summit, and *Wotan*, looking back at every step upon *Brünnhilde*, disappears through them. This touching farewell is the one attractive feature in a character which his childish avidity in "Rheingold," and his weak support in the other dramas of a professed pessimism, make otherwise uninteresting.

With this scene, magnificent alike in its music and in its stage setting, ends "Die Walküre." The drama stands throughout in most striking contrast with "Rheingold." Spontaneity characterizes the one, restraint the other. The relation of the "Vorspiel" to the subsequent dramas places the composer in the position of an orator who, though burning with generous feeling, cannot express it to hearers who are unfamiliar with the events that led to it. Before they can be in sympathy with the horror and indignation which he feels at the thought of Bulgarian massacres, they must understand the details included in that general expression; they must know who Turks and Circassians and Bulgarians are; what relations existed between them; what difference of creed; what helplessness of the murdered; what cruelty of the murderers. When all this is known, then may the speaker, with sure hope of sympathy, give vent to his own feelings in appealing to the humanity of his hearers. In like manner the genius of Herr Wagner has proceeded. It was aware that an immediate complete expression of its own emotion could appeal only vaguely to its hearers, for they did not know to what different objects the emotion embodied in the various "Leitmotive" attached; and how much less could they sympathize with that symphonic blending of them all together which presupposed that each on its recurrence carried with it a flood of memories. The orator could trust that the single word "Bulgarian" would appeal to his hearers only after they had become familiar with the associations connected with it; and, in like manner, Herr Wagner recognized that the emotion which he felt at the beginning must be experienced by his hearers at the end. He held himself restrained, therefore, to definitions in "Rheingold"; but he finds himself able, in "Die Walküre" and the subsequent dramas, to give vent with continually greater freedom to all the intensity of his feeling. The work of definition, it is true, must still go on, since new characters are introduced; but almost before words have explained their presence, the orchestra, with brief boldness, has recalled the motives which bind them to the past, and proceeds with an impetuosity of feeling, which the narrower limits of "Rheingold" forbade, to develop the new motives that are identified with them. The unrestrained expression of this emotion finds abundant scope in acts which a change of scene rarely interrupts during their entire length of more than an hour; and we have, for the result, such magnificent exhibitions of sustained power as the first act of "Die Walküre," such individual instances of a

satisfied exuberance of expression as the "Rills of the Valkyries"; and from beginning to end such richness of orchestral coloring as makes the composer worthy to be called the Turner of music.

## Correspondence.

### SOME EXCUSES FOR THE STUMP ORATOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The tenor of your article on "The Work still before Reformers," in your last issue, suggests the enquiry whether in it you do not take too despondent a view of the present situation. It is true, as you say, that the burden of most of the Republican campaign speeches has been an appeal to the Northern "jealous sensitiveness in behalf of the negro"; but then you must not expect too much from the campaign orator, nor should you attribute the party majorities entirely to the speeches. The Southern problem is, as you have said so often, a very complex one; to state the points to be discussed involves an arraignment of the Republican party as well as of the Democratic, and the average stump orator would hardly venture on that. That the vote of the South is united for the first time since 1860, and that it is impatient of negro suffrage and seeks to prevent or control it, are facts not to be denied, and alarming even to moderate men, and it is hardly to be wondered at that party orators confine themselves to the easy statement of these facts rather than the difficult discussion of the causes of them and the best means of preventing or curing them.

Again, as to the financial question: you can hardly expect, as things are, that this will be elaborately discussed. It is perhaps doubtful whether it is practically a party question. The platforms of Cincinnati and St. Louis and the views of Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden on this point are really much alike, and, as there are men of every shade of opinion on the question in both parties, the practical orator should rather avoid currency and finance as dangerous both to his party and himself; besides, it may be doubted whether as a rule he is quite up to it.

Substantially the same may be said of the principle of civil-service reform. It cannot be discussed without saying something unkind not only of the impersonal Republican party, but also of the personal party managers, especially the Senatorial Group. So bold a course ought not to be expected of human party orators until the consummation of the reform itself. A few days ago it was reported that the invaluable services of Mr. Schurz had been dispensed with because he had ventured on this ground, and certainly it would not be permitted in any one else. That the politician of the day regards civil-service reform as an absurd sacrifice of power which he does not intend to make if he can help it, and does not wish to say much about for fear he may be forced into some direct personal pledge to aid it, may be admitted, but his means of escape from so doing is not in the apathy of his audience, but rather in the ease with which he can show the impossibility of such reform under Mr. Tilden. That Democratic success in the coming Presidential election would lead to a complete change in the personnel of the whole civil service of the country is apparent; it is nearly as plain that party necessity and the inexperience and inefficiency of new appointees would compel a very large increase in the number of the employés in that service, and it is by no means clear but that the appreciation of these facts is more general and has had more effect than you would seem to imply in the article alluded to.

It must be remembered that the reformation of the civil service is only one of the questions at issue, and that it is manifestly impossible to weigh precisely the effect of any one cause in making up the result of the Maine and Vermont elections; but that the demand for such reform has developed great strength is shown by the recognition of it by both political parties, and that the plain inability of the Democratic party to carry it out has influenced many votes for the Republicans is certainly a reasonable supposition, and one not much weakened by the treatment of the subject by the party speakers, because that, as has been shown, is readily explained on grounds other than the indifference of the party at large.

How much Gov. Hayes can accomplish in face of the opposition he will undoubtedly meet is another question which I have already trespassed too much on your space to discuss, although I think it can be shown that he can and probably will do more than at first sight appears possible. At all events let us hope so.—Yours respectfully,

S. W. P.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25, 1876.

## Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S list of fall publications is long and of high quality. It includes Freeman's 'Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian'; the third and last volume of the 'Memoirs of the Earl of Shelburne'; 'The Raja of Sarawak (Sir James Brooke),' by Gertrude J. Jacob; 'Rambles in Greece,' by J. P. Mahaffy; 'Dutch Guiana,' by W. Gifford Palgrave; 'The Invasions of England,' by Capt. H. M. Tozier; 'Chapters in the History of Popular Progress in England,' by James Routledge; a reprint of the edition of 1823 of Bentham's 'Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation'; 'The Austrian Arctic Expedition,' by Lieut. Payer; 'Unscientific Letters from the *Challenger*,' by Lord George Campbell; 'The Modern Telescope,' lectures delivered at the Royal Institution by J. N. Lockyer; 'A Manual of Marks on Pottery and Porcelain,' by W. H. Hooper and W. C. Phillips; and 'Selections from Herrick,' in the Golden Treasury Series, by Francis Turner Palgrave. —For the holidays, Scribner, Welford & Armstrong announce a sumptuous illustrated volume on 'Italy, from the Alps to Mount Etna,' edited by T. Augustus Trollope. —*Nature* for September 7, continuing its roll of "Scientific Worthies," gives an admirably executed portrait and a very full sketch of the career of Sir William Thomson, whose amiable remarks about American scientists since his return from this country have lately been made public here. His is a decided case of "hereditary genius," his father having been and his brothers being also eminent in science. Sir William's contributions to the practical working of deep-sea cables ought alone to make him famous; but he has many other titles to the gratitude of mankind. The same number of *Nature*, by the way, contains a full report of the proceedings of the British Association's session at Glasgow. —The third number of the *Bulletin* of the Nuttall Ornithological Club (Cambridge) is well sustained by a large number of contributors, and furnishes for the most part popular reading. Mr. J. A. Allen's paper on the decrease of birds in Massachusetts is first in order as well as in point of interest. —Mr. Thomas Vickers, making good his promises, has issued his catalogue of English Prose Fiction in the Cincinnati Public Library, close upon the appearance of his catalogue of German Fiction which we lately noticed. Comparing the new catalogue with the similar one prepared by Mr. Stephen Noyes for the Brooklyn Mercantile Library, we are struck with the liberal scale on which the former has been carried out. Types and paper are of the very best, and space and cost are of so little account (as if in comparison with eyesight) that every title, even in interminable juvenile series like Oliver Optic's and Jacob Abbott's, has a line to itself, with date and place of publication given. In 248 pages are catalogued, as we estimate, not more books than Mr. Noyes, by omitting details which may properly be left to the general catalogue, has recorded in 64 pages.

—In a recent number of the *Times* of this city there was printed an article a column and a half in length, purporting to be a review, but actually a satire upon a Latin Grammar by Dr. Fischer. Nearly one-half of the *Times*'s ridicule was devoted to the system of Latin pronunciation which the grammar in the proper place advocated, and which the reviewer characterized as neither English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, nor anything under heaven except Fischerian. We hope the satirist will be duly abashed when he discovers the fact, of which he obviously has never heard, that the system of pronunciation which Dr. Fischer follows was some time since set forth in a pamphlet by Professor Lane of Harvard.

—A volume which truly deserves a place at the Philadelphia Exhibition is the 'Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences.' Davenport is in Iowa, on the farther bank of the Mississippi. Forty years ago there was no such town in existence, and it is still "in the heart of an extensive grain-growing region," with only about 25,000 inhabitants. Yet its Academy of Natural Sciences is nine years old, and, after having experienced the lethargy which usually follows the exuberant vitality of a new society, it now finds itself popular, growing, well housed, and with a long career of usefulness before it. "Eighty-five new members were elected during the [past] year, of whom forty-three were ladies," and these have taken an active part in furnishing the rooms and promoting the aims of the society. One lady laboriously copied the records of proceedings during nine years to be printed for the first time in the volume before us, and the cost of publication has been borne by the "Women's Centennial Association" of Davenport. "The city is so situated as to afford many advantages to the student of Nature. The underlying limestone abounds in fossils of the Hamilton and Upper Helderberg groups, the rivers and ponds produce a remarkably fine development of molluscan life, while the



close proximity of the prairies to the wooded bottom-lands affords a rich field for the botanist and the entomologist." Moreover, round about and almost within the limits of the city the remains of the mound-builders are found in such abundance that the Academy's collection "is now one of the best in the country, and in some departments is unique"—it contains, for example, no fewer than twenty copper axes. These remains receive a large share of attention in the text of the 'Proceedings,' and especially in the illustrations; entomology holds the second place, botany and conchology are still more sparingly represented. Taken altogether, this volume does honor to the city from which it proceeds, and we recommend it to all intending emigrants to the West who may be in doubt where to settle, and who are affected by considerations of the sort suggested by the existence of a learned society in any given community.

—An article, "Notes on Book-plates," in the *Art Journal* for October, may serve by its illustrations to direct attention to the French work on which it is based—M. Poulet-Malassès's 'Les Ex-libris français depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours.' The subject is invested with a good deal of curious interest, and collectors of book-plates can variously find a justification for their mania in their fondness for art, for history, for genealogy, and for the study of human character. The coat-of-arms is naturally employed as the sign and seal of ownership, and is, perhaps, the commonest device of the book-plate. It fails, however, to indicate individual taste and traits, and is worth supplanting, or at least supplementing, with some original and pertinent design. Of these there have been plenty in the three centuries of the fashion, and there is no reason why they should not be indefinitely multiplied. Etching for such purposes is within the capacity of almost any one who can draw at all, and photography, which now gives us a raised plate from any pen-and-ink drawing, furnishes a very tolerable substitute for etching. To the revival of this latter art, however, under the Second Empire, we owe many beautiful book-plate conceits, and two of the most remarkable of them—Victor Hugo's and Manet's—are reproduced on wood in the *Art Journal*.

—The art of conveying information about dry subjects in an attractive manner is one which has to be cultivated by all scientific men who wish to reach a public of any kind; and as an illustration of how it may be done, Mr. John Fiske's article in the current number of the *Atlantic*, called "A Librarian's Work," is a good study. Although professing merely to give an account of the occupations of the librarians of Harvard College, and to dispel the mystery which surrounds the work of what, it seems, is popularly supposed to be a sinecure office, it contains a good deal of valuable information about books, of the kind which is always entertaining so long as we are permitted to consider it merely talk about books, and not compelled to attend in the spirit of earnestness and bibliography. Mr. Fiske not only finds in the library at Cambridge plenty of work for himself, but enough for twenty assistants, seventeen of whom are employed simply in cataloguing books. For the purpose of showing how the work is done, he traces the history of a volume through all its stages, from its appearance in the library to its final establishment on the shelves, ready for public use. One of the curious facts brought out by the minute examination to which books are subjected in the process technically known as "collating" (an examination made for the purpose of discovering any defects in the lettering, paging, and general make-up) is that, in the case of English publications, there hardly ever turn out to be any serious flaws, while in the French and German volumes "the grossest blunders are only too common. Figures are unaccountably skipped in numbering the pages; plates are either omitted or are so bunglingly numbered that it is hard to discover whether the quota is complete or not; title-pages are inserted in the wrong places; sheets are wrongly folded, bringing the succession of pages into dire confusion; sometimes two or three sheets are left out; and sometimes where a work in ten volumes is bound in five, you will find that the first of these contains two duplicate copies of Vol. I., while for any signs of a Vol. II. you may seek in vain. In all bungling of this kind the Germans are worse than the French; but both are bad enough when contrasted with the English, either of the Old World or of the New." The difference between a printed catalogue and a card-catalogue, roughly speaking, is that the former is a fixed and final announcement of the contents of a library—a solemn record, to which no additions can be made, except in the form of supplements, which with each new accession of books become more and more cumbersome; while the latter, consisting as it does simply of a quantity of loose cards arranged alphabetically in drawers, can be increased as the library itself increases, exactly as (if the comparison may be allowed) a "hand" of playing-cards may be increased by a provident but immoral player, and

"Grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength."

Printed catalogues have long since passed into disrepute in all the great foreign libraries, but in none of them, it seems, not even in the British Museum, has the new system been so perfected as at Cambridge. The British Museum catalogue is in manuscript, but is contained in enormous blank or scrap books, on the leaves of which are pasted thin paper slips, with the titles of the books, large spaces being left for the insertion of the titles of subsequent accessions in alphabetical order; the result is that the catalogue fills more than a thousand elephant folios, for the consultation of which a large amount of labor and a good deal even of physical exertion are needed. At Cambridge the card system has superseded this. Even card-catalogues, however, like all human inventions, have their defects, one of them being "the danger of buying a duplicate because a card-title does not happen to be in its place," and another the enormous space required. In fourteen years the Harvard College "twin catalogue" of authors and subjects has become fifty-one feet long and accumulated three hundred and thirty-six drawers. On this account Mr. Fiske thinks that the card system can only be considered a temporary expedient, and that it will in the end be used as a current supplement to the printed catalogue, the latter being published at stated intervals, and so incorporating the cards from period to period; in this way there would never be more than two catalogues to consult, which is perhaps the minimum of difficulty to be hoped for by the rational librarian.

—Two or three of the Paris journals have lately published a translation of a short poem by the Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev, which—we quote the *Figaro*—"has recently been recited before the Czarévitch, and has obtained a rapid popularity in Russia." We give an English version of the *Figaro's* translation:

"The Queen is sitting in her forest of Windsor; around her the ladies of her court play at a game which not long since came into fashion—a game called croquet. You roll little balls and you make them pass skilfully through little hoops. The Queen looks on and laughs; but suddenly she stops; her face grows deathly pale.

"It seems to her that, instead of shapely balls driven by the lightly-tapping mallet, there are hundreds of heads rolling along, all smeared with blood. Heads of women, of young girls, of children; faces with marks of dreadful tortures and bestial outrage, of the claws of beasts, and all the horror of death-pangs.

"And now the youngest daughter of the Queen, a gentle maiden, pushes one of these heads further and further from the others, pushes it until it reaches her mother's feet. The head of a child with curly hair; its little livid mouth turns to murmur reproaches. The Queen utters a shriek of horror; an ineffable terror darkens her eyes.

"My doctor, quick, quick, let him come to me!" And she tells him her terrible vision. But he then answers: 'It doesn't surprise me; reading the newspapers has disturbed you. The *Times* explains to us so well how the Bulgarians have deserved the wrath of the Turks. Here is a draught; take it and your trouble will pass.' And the Queen goes back into her palace.

"She is alone, and she begins to muse. Her eyelids fall, and—oh! horror, the edge of her garment is befouled with a bloody stain. 'Let them take it away this instant—I wish to forget it. Wash it for me, rivers of England!' 'No, your Majesty, never shall the royal robe of England be washed of the stain of this innocent blood!'"

—Austria mourns the loss of her greatest poet and "best citizen," Count Anton Alexander Auersperg, celebrated as "Anastasis Grün," died at Grätz on the 12th of September. Forty-five years ago liberal Germany hailed with delight his "Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten"—the first bold voice of independence from the country of Metternich; and in all his later writings and in every act of his life Count Auersperg proved true to the aspirations of his youth. Although in 1843 he was a member of the preliminary parliament and of the national assembly at Frankfort, his prominence in public life commenced with the era of constitutionalism in Austria. In 1851 he was called, as a member for life, into the House of Peers, and soon rose to its leadership. He was identified with all the liberal measures of that body, and, with one or two exceptions, was the author of all its addresses to the throne, some of which have become famous for their independence of sentiment and beauty of diction. Many of his speeches, notably those against the concordat, were masterpieces of eloquence. As a poet Count Auersperg was not prolific, and, in his later days, more distinguished than popular. He was not a revolutionary bard, like Herwegh, nor a "ladies' poet," like Geibel. Wealth of imagery and a ripe and all-pervading philosophy were the characteristics of his muse. His best-known works, besides the one mentioned, are: 'Der letzte Ritter' (1830), which treats of the life of the Emperor Maximilian I.; the beautiful 'Schutt' (1835), one chapter of which is a glowing tribute to our free institutions; and 'Gelichte' (1837), a collection of lyrics. His death, which is said to have been hastened by the popular ovations on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, has caused the profoundest regret. Austria, who, within a

few months, has lost Daik and Auerberg, may well take a sad pride in her bereavements.

—The constant interference of the Executive with the French stage, an interference which may well have found its climax in the decree regulating the affairs of the Comédie Française, written by Napoleon at Moscow, renders a study of the state of French theatrical law interesting to others than lawyers. The first chapter of 'Codes des Théâtres,' by a Paris advocate, M. Charles Constant, is devoted to the theatres; the second to the actors; the third to the authors; and the fourth to the public. From the second chapter we learn that the manager has always the right to cancel the engagement of an actor who has not given satisfaction to the public in his *débuts* in the first three parts in which he appears; and in the provinces the public, and especially the subscribers to the theatre, are severe in their requirements and jealous of their right to reject, so that "at Rouen, for instance, the acceptance or rejection of the new actor was for a long time certified and proclaimed by the chief of police; at Nantes, his acceptance or rejection was, and perhaps is still, put to vote, in which the subscribers and certain of the audience, chosen by lot, take part, sitting as an electoral college, with the mayor as a presiding officer; while at Orléans a municipal decree, which, we think, has not yet been revoked, declares that the public must be consulted on the subject by the stage-manager, who is to present the new actor and kindly enumerate his qualifications, after which a vote is taken by show of hands, and it is the Commissionnaire Central of the city who is to decide as to the result of this public manifestation." The third chapter treats largely of dramatic copyright, and shows us plainly the hooks of steel by which the powerful monopoly of the dramatic authors' society has bound to itself the managers of France. The old country manager who liked to give Shakspeare's plays because the author could not come to the treasury asking for money, would be greatly displeased in France to find that, however old the play and however dead the copyright, the agents of the society would still collect the author's fee, although in this case only to turn it over to a charitable fund for the relief of the theatrical poor. M. Constant has completed his volume by giving a list of all laws and legal decisions affecting the stage from 1789 to 1875, adding the text of many of the most important. There is an index to the names of all authors, actors, and managers cited, in addition to the analytical index indispensable to all legal text-books.

#### THE UNSEEN WORLD.\*

THIS is a volume of very clever book-notices, most of which have recently appeared in well-known magazines; and one can trace now and then in its pages the character of its source. The emphasis and glitter, the easy off-hand decision, which catch the eye and fix the attention of the aimless reader who, in after-dinner mood, turns the pages in half-conscious search for a sensation, give a character not easily mistaken to the magazine criticism. Its influence is wide. It is so much easier to read a review of a book like the 'Unseen Universe' than to read the book itself; so much easier, too, to get a definite opinion ready made for society than laboriously to fit one's self out with the doubtful and scanty home-made article that most of the one sex, and nearly all of the other, are content so to equip themselves. But from their very nature such opinions are as ephemeral as they are effective; their life is in their surroundings, and the author fortunately rarely attempts to revive them. As one reads in Mr. Fiske's dedication that these articles are published "by way of clearing out my workshop," one instinctively recalls the load of chips from a German workshop under which another author's fame has been half-hidden, and turns the pages with a certain misgiving; but he soon finds his fears uncalled for. No doubt there is a good deal of incompleteness about these essays, and there is no apparent reason why the abstract of Figuier's 'To-morrow of Death' should have been reprinted. The book reviewed was utterly worthless; and while the notice may have been useful to warn ignorant readers, no good reason appears for preserving it in a permanent form. The pressure of books is so great in this prolific age that authors can hardly feel too strongly the duty of preserving only their completest work. But, as we have said, most of the essays in this volume were well worth preserving, and some probably are on subjects that the author will never treat more fully, though Mr. Fiske's tastes seem so broad that we speak with hesitation. His reviews are more than mere criticisms. He selects the salient facts, and dwells upon the explanation with additions and emendations of his own. Thus his first article is an examination of 'The

Unseen Universe,' the essay by Professors Tait and Stewart which attracted so much attention a year or so ago on its appearance in England—we wonder, by the way, why Mr. Fiske should have altered the title for the worse—and he gives the gist of the work, catching correctly its subtly expressed materialism, and taking the opportunity to give in his criticism a somewhat more definite statement of his own idealism than he had previously given, and draws with a firm hand the distinction between the loose Positivist speculations he is criticising and the hopes that his own idealism enables him to nourish: and then, assisted perhaps by the obscurity that enwraps his Unknowable, he dwells upon emotional reasons for believing in spiritual immortality which, to a strict Positivist, could have but trifling importance. As the reader turns the pages of this vigorous defence of the old stronghold against assailants armed with weapons of the last scientific pattern, he may remember with half-indignant amusement the short time that has elapsed since (if report is to be trusted) the great liberal university sagely decided that our author was too dangerous a free thinker to be allowed to lecture to its undergraduates.

Although Mr. Fiske is an idealist, his idealism is not to be identified with the transcendentalism of Mr. Emerson and his followers. The schools are quite opposed, separated indeed by one of the oldest of distinctions. We have but to prune away the childish myths that Hindoo conservatism could not free itself from when it had long outgrown them, and replace the old names by the modern ones, call the all-informing personal substance (the Brahma of the Brahmins) by its transcendental title of the "Over-soul," and call the impersonal essence (the principle of harmony of the Buddhists which Götama named the Karma) by the cosmist title, the Unknowable, and the likeness will be plain enough. It is a contrast of tone as well as theory, too, the lofty but dreamy and impractical individualism of the one differing so completely from the practical but narrow humanitarianism of the other.

In the sketch of "The Jesus of History," Mr. Fiske rehearses, in a somewhat brief fashion, the scanty materials that modern criticism has spared, but one misses the intense inner life which Arnold and others have shown us how to find in those sayings of Jesus whose authenticity has been strengthened rather than weakened by criticism of the surrounding narrative; and some of Mr. Fiske's dates must be revised, as he himself is half inclined to admit. Some additional completeness is given by the companion sketch, "The Christ of Dogma," in which the slow development of the Catholic creed is exceedingly well shown. Hunter's 'Annals of Bengal' gives Mr. Fiske the opportunity to draw the lesson of the beneficence of honest speculation—a lesson much needed to clear our cloudy moral atmosphere; indeed, in the present miserable conflict between our business habits and the supposed dictates of morality, it can hardly be too much dwelt upon. Very readable criticisms of Draper's 'Science and Religion,' Lessing's 'Nathan,' Motley's 'Netherlands,' and Longfellow's 'Dante' follow, the last especially showing the nice taste in words which makes Mr. Fiske's own style so agreeable. In this list, and the notices of Paine's 'St. Peter' and Taine's 'Philosophy of Art,' there is some very delicate criticism, but in most of the essays, as in most of Mr. Fiske's other work, the historical, scientific, or philosophical elements are more prominent than the critical. It will be seen that there is a great variety, however. Art and history, the science of to-day and the philosophy of eighteen centuries ago, the literature of Europe and the music of America, all interest Mr. Fiske; and his thought is so clear and his style so fine that his reader's interest follows him. There is an occasional over-positiveness of a kind now unfortunately common which the reader must be on his guard against. We note in half-a-dozen places in the first essay hypotheses of a very speculative character stated as positively as if they were fixed facts. Once or twice the cleverness of his phrases seems to carry him away, as where he says "the individual does not exist for the sake of society, as the Positivist would have us believe, but society exists for the sake of the individual"—an antithesis which the Positivist would regard as a misleading suggestion of contradiction between two theorems, both of which are true, and either one of which can be deduced from the other. Possibly Mr. Fiske's error may go deeper than the phrase; we recall the passage in another work, where he advocates the mischievous custom of promiscuous charity on the thoroughly selfish ground of good to the giver.

The last essay, on Athenian and American life, is one of the most interesting. His description of the leisurely culture of Athenian life, and the varied interests—political, æsthetic, and intellectual—to which that leisure was applied, is suggestive, and its contrast to our restless energy in the one absorbing pursuit of money-getting loses none of its point in his hands. We half wish that we could share in the optimistic hopes with which he closes. He dwells upon the close connection of that leisure with the slave-

\* 'The Unseen World, and other Essays. By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Librarian and formerly Lecturer on Philosophy at Harvard University,' etc. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. 12mo, pp. 349.



holding habits of the community, its outdoor life, and the fewness of the luxuries that ingenuity had then constructed; but these are conditions which we can never hope to reproduce. Our entire social form, our whole theory of equality, and the enormous rewards that we bestow upon superior energy, daring, or skill, are totally at variance with the inherited status, the unchanging stability, of the Athenian. The one and the other cannot be joined. Indeed, the comforts of wealth and the rewards of power are every day increasing. The last few years have given us artistic furnitures and room-papers. To the next generation purified politics may again offer the noblest rewards for ability and honor. We have devised the most efficient systems of reward for energy and punishment for weakness that the world has ever seen. Let us not hope to combine with it the half-aimless leisure of the Greek, or fancy that the settlement of the wild lands of the West, the extinction of the red man, or the cessation of Eastern or Western migration, can bring back to American men the leisure of old-time civilization.

#### AN ITALIAN VIEW OF OUR BANKING SYSTEM.\*

IN a recent number of the *Nation* we gave the substance of the report of ministers Minghetti and Finali on the Forced Paper Circulation of Italy, and the proper measures for its extinction. The law of April, 1874, which called forth that report, made it also the duty of ministers to report upon the banking and paper-money systems of other countries now under a suspension of specie payments. The report lately published, of which we have given the title, relates to the United States and Russia; another relating to Austria and France will shortly appear, and will complete the series. Aside from the signal ability with which these reports have been prepared, they will have great value from their contemporaneous character. It will be found that while the financial history of each country has characteristics of its own, and peculiar local influences producing certain local results, the great underlying and controlling principles are everywhere the same, and that there is a growing tendency to give them the same treatment in all countries. There is nothing more to be deprecated than the cultivation of local political economy, or more to be desired than identity of treatment in all countries of the same social and politico-economical problems. With the strongest disposition among nations to attain this result, there will remain not a few questions requiring local handling, and the right of each to adapt general principles to its own peculiar situation and necessities is not impugned. Provincialism in legislation is much oftener the result of ignorance than of any necessity to make it provincial. The Italian government has before it the grave problem of restoring a sound currency, and while getting ready to do it arms itself with the fullest information about other countries similarly situated, in order that it may have every possible help to a wise solution.

We should hardly expect to go to Italy for information respecting the banking and currency system of the United States, and yet there is not in our language so condensed, and at the same time so accurate and full, an account of it as is to be found in the hundred Italian pages now before us. This is not an unusual circumstance in financial and statistical writing. Foreigners in writing about us take no knowledge for granted on the part of their readers, but state every essential fact. One of the best, if not the very best, books of its time on the finances of the United States was Baron Hoch's 'Die Finanzen der Vereinigten-Staaten,' published in Vienna nearly ten years ago. The same writer published somewhat earlier an account of the financial system of France, which the French finance minister pronounced to be the best book on the subject then in print.

After a brief but intelligent sketch of the earlier banking systems and institutions of the United States, the report before us goes very fully into the history and operation of the National Bank Act of 1863 and its later amendments. All that relates to the subject in the debates of Congress, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency, and in many other contemporary publications, seems to have been studied and carefully digested. The author's criticism upon the system is that its main design appears to have been to absorb Government stocks. No doubt Mr. Chase designed it quite as much for a fiscal measure as for a currency system, but it is certain that no one foresaw more clearly than he did the immense advantage of having a single homogeneous system of banking and paper money in place of the diverse and conflicting State systems which existed before it. The same criticism might be made upon the original charter of the Bank of England, the motive of which was a loan to the Government.

\* 'Notizie intorno all' Ordinamento Bancario e al Corso Forzato negli Stati Uniti d'America, in Russia, nell' Impero Austro-Ungarico, e in Francia. Parte Prima: Stati Uniti e Russia.' Roma: Tipografia Siminbergli. 8vo, pp. 112. 1875.

Commenting on the plan for redeeming national-bank notes established by the act of June 20, 1874, it is said that "effectual redemption cannot be had until the amount of the notes redeeming is less than that of the notes to be redeemed. If Congress should provide for the withdrawal of United States notes and for the issue of more bank-notes, as they should seem to be needed, until the amount of the former should be reduced, for example, to \$300,000,000, then United States notes would be in demand, and in proportion as their volume was reduced that demand would increase, until at last, when the volume of bank circulation greatly exceeded that of United States notes, the bills of the national banks would return to the issuers of their own accord at certain seasons of the year by reason of the difficulty or expense of getting lawful money with which to redeem them. The existing stock of gold would reappear to supplement the demand for an additional amount of lawful money, and thus an actual resumption of specie payments would be brought about. To redeem, in the proper sense of the word, implies the exchange of a promise of payment for the thing promised—that is to say, for gold or for something which represents gold and will bring it on demand."

Nothing could be sounder than the following remarks on the influence of an effective system of redemption in promoting good banking:

"Such a redemption system has the effect of bringing banks into the only channel of legitimate business, which is the discounting of commercial paper. If the payment of bank-notes were frequently demanded, banks of issue could not, without danger, invest their capital in loans not immediately available (*prestiti immobiliari*), in stocks and bonds of uncertain value, in accommodation loans which have to be carried by continual renewals, nor in loans on doubtful collaterals; on the contrary, they would be obliged to have it always invested in loans promptly realizable at maturity. In this way the development of serious business would be promoted, and banks worthy of credit be built up."

An interesting chapter is devoted to the crisis of 1873, the immediate causes of which are thus described:

"The crisis arose mainly from the desire of the country banks to withdraw their balances from the banks of the exchange cities, first, because of the need which they have to use their funds in commercial discounts in the month of September; and, secondly, because they foresaw and feared a recurrence of such a crisis as had occurred in former years, and were suddenly animated by a common desire to get their funds into their own custody. The reserves of the New York banks being thus suddenly drawn down by the drafts of their country correspondents, the only resource left to the banks of the exchange cities was to convert their call loans, amounting to sixty millions of dollars; but if these loans had been paid, it would have been in checks upon the associated banks, and these institutions would have found the next day at the Clearing-House that, although some part of their individual indebtedness had been reduced, as a whole the association was possessed of no more money than the day before. Hence the suspension followed; but if the reserves of the country banks had been largely invested in Government certificates, their drafts on the city banks would have been proportionately less; and if the reserved capital of the exchange cities had been equally held in those certificates, the *interest* [sic] of the latter would have been withdrawn from the Treasury, and the banks would have found themselves in possession of means immediately available to meet the wants of their customers."

"The financial crisis of 1873 must, therefore, be attributed to the intimate relations of the banks of the city of New York with the affairs of the Stock Board. More than a quarter, and in many cases as much as a third, of the portfolios of those banks, after the late civil war, consisted in demand loans to members of the Stock Exchange, whose operations have a much greater tendency to derange the serious business of a country than to promote it. Before the war the Stock Board was composed of only 150 members, and their business was that of buying and selling on commission, and the public and municipal laws which governed them were severe and protective. At the end of the war, the Stock Board consisted of 1,100 members and was composed of men from every part of the country, many of whom, when taking up their quarters in Wall Street, had adopted as a rule of their business the motto of Horace: '*Rem facias; rem, si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo rem.*'"

It will be remembered that in Italy repeated efforts have been made to resume specie payments, but that they have always been met by one insurmountable obstacle—the deficiency of the national revenue to meet the current annual expenditure. This deficiency in the budget seems now in a fair way to be overcome, and we may judge of the application which will be made of any surplus by the following passage in the report before us, as to the extinction of the legal-tender notes in this country:

"The United States could by this time have extinguished the whole of their floating debt and re-established a metallic circulation if, instead of using the gold taken into the Treasury for the retirement of portions of the public debt not yet due, they had appropriated at least a part of it to retire the legal-tender notes. In eight years since the close of the civil war the Federal Government has reduced the funded debt by a sum of \$618,895,673; and when it is remembered that in the eleven years succeeding the passage of the National Currency Act, the banks have received from the Government for interest on national bonds two hundred and fifty millions of dol-

lars in gold, it is a matter of surprise that the United States have not already made provision for abolishing the forced currency."

In like manner, an Austrian economist, in a recent paper on the currency of that country, says: "We look almost with envy upon the United States, which, out of their annual surplus, could easily pay the interest on a loan sufficient to retire immediately enough paper money to insure the disappearance of the gold premium." Thus have we suffered in the United States, in the eyes of all competent European critics, by ignorance of established economic principles on the part of those who have made and those who have administered our financial system, and, still worse, by the vain and silly conceit that we alone of all nations are emancipated from those principles and are competent to create a political economy of our own.

In contrast with the straightforward, manly dealing with the problem of specie resumption which characterizes all the discussions of it in European countries similarly situated, we have produced nothing better than the halting compromise known as the Resumption Act of 1875—an act which, in the contemptuous phrase of one of the foreign ministers then in Washington, passed the Senate, "after a couple of hours' debate, by a majority of 18 in a total vote of 46, being regarded merely as a party measure, too inoffensive to provoke the serious hostility of either contractionists or inflationists."

*Life of Israel Putnam* ("Old Put"), Major-General in the Continental Army. By Increase N. Tarbox. With Map and Illustrations. (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1876. 8vo, pp. 389.)—Thirty years ago, if we are not mistaken, there was hardly more question in the public mind that Gen. Putnam commanded at Bunker Hill than that Napoleon commanded at Marengo. Since that time, an opinion has gradually made its way into popular favor that it was Col. Prescott; and this opinion has now become so firmly seated, and been so largely adopted by current literature, especially in the school histories of the United States, that the present generation is growing up with no more doubt of this being a fact than their fathers were of the other. Mr. Tarbox has undertaken to reverse this judgment, and to show that the men of the time, as well as of the generations which immediately followed, were right in ascribing the honor to "Old Put."

At first sight, we must confess that the question seems hardly to require argument. It is incredible that it should be left to Mr. Frothingham, at a distance of nearly a century of time, to discover who commanded in one of the most eventful engagements of the war. It is incredible that, when a general was present upon the field (and not as a volunteer, like Warren), a colonel should hold the chief command. It is incredible that contemporaries, both in England and America, should have been mistaken in hailing Putnam as the hero of the day. It is incredible, if Putnam blundered and misbehaved upon this occasion, as some of the advocates of the opposite theory would make out, that he should have remained throughout his military career the trusted friend of Washington, and been placed by him in positions of responsibility. We submit that Mr. Tarbox is right in asserting that a probability resting upon facts like these can be set aside only by the most direct and overwhelming evidence. And such evidence is wholly wanting. The argument for Col. Prescott's being in chief command of the field is entirely by way of inference, and, when sifted, appears exceedingly weak. He was in charge of the entrenching party on the night of the sixteenth of June, and commanded at the redoubt the next day; so much is certain. And the redoubt was the central point of the battle; but it was not the battle. Still, the fight at the redoubt has, in the eyes of later students, so completely overshadowed the other events of the day as to come to be regarded as comprising in itself the whole battle, so far as there was a regular battle; and its commander, who certainly did not command Putnam, and almost as certainly did not command Stark, with his New Hampshire men, next to the Mystic River, is called the commander of the day.

The fact is, if Prescott did not command Putnam, neither does Putnam appear to have exercised any active control over Prescott. This is accounted for in various ways. In the first place, Prescott did not need supervision; his duties were simple and well defined, and he performed them satisfactorily, while Putnam had his hands full elsewhere. In the next place, the engagement seems to have been somewhat unexpected, at least to the commander-in-chief, so that Prescott's work at the redoubt was almost independent of the other rather desultory operations, and was left without proper support. In the next place, and chiefly, Gen. Putnam, with all his great and heroic qualities, does not seem to have possessed the capacity of managing a pitched battle. The result is that his operations appear quite secondary to those of his subordinate, Col. Prescott. To these considera-

tions from the facts of the battle, there is added a theoretical argument, which sets out from an assertion of John Adams (1818), that "the army at Cambridge was not a national army," but that it was "four armies," one each from the four New England colonies. From this it is argued that there could have been no officer with authority to command the whole body of troops engaged at Bunker Hill, and that at any rate, if there was one, it could not be a Connecticut general, because it was mainly Massachusetts troops that were engaged, and on Massachusetts soil. Prescott, therefore, as being the senior Massachusetts officer, must have been the chief commander, so far as there was a chief commander at all—for of course the reasoning which excludes Putnam will equally exclude Prescott from any real authority over the whole field. There is no doubt that there was a certain lack of unity in the command of the day which lends some support to this view. As to the doctrine from which it all starts, that there was not one army but four, Mr. Tarbox well answers (p. 83) that, whatever truth there is in it, "it is a *rhetoric* [rather *logic* *it*] and not a *historical* truth. It relates to the legal relation of the men from the different States, and not their relations as a *matter of fact*." As a matter of fact, Putnam of Connecticut did obey Ward of Massachusetts, and, as appears here quite convincingly, did command Stark of New Hampshire, and Prescott of Massachusetts.

Mr. Tarbox has arranged the evidence for his view, gathered from many sources, at perhaps unnecessary length, but certainly with good effect, and has added (page 235) one important piece of evidence which is entirely new—the affidavit (of July, 1875) of Daniel Putnam Tyler, of Brooklyn, Ct., a great-grandson of General Putnam, as to a conversation held by him in 1822 with Governor Eastis of Massachusetts, who was a student of medicine in the office of General Warren at the time of the battle, and who met Warren as he was going upon the ground. "He [Eastis] said," the affidavit states, "he was a student in Dr. Warren's office, that early in the morning of the battle Putnam was there, and with almost superhuman energy acting as commander, and so far as he knew was alone recognized as such. It was not till many years after the battle that he heard it suggested that any other than Putnam had the chief command on that occasion. He said he knew that Colonel Prescott was entrusted with the defence of the redoubt; that he was an intrepid and gallant soldier, and defended that with great military skill and Spartan valor."

We have said that the argument is effectively presented. It might have been more so with a better arrangement, more clear in the description of military operations, and, we are inclined to think, with a distinct statement in advance of the point to be proved and the arguments to be refuted. The book is essentially a controversial one, written, no doubt, for the purpose of settling a disputed point, and might perhaps have made a useful monograph. A good life of Putnam is, however, an acceptable addition to our literature. It is well told, with perhaps an excess of words, and certainly, we must think, with the common fault of biographers of exaggerating the merits of their heroes. General Putnam was a remarkable man, a typical New Englander in many respects, and a useful officer; and his biographer has done well to vindicate his memory from a kind of depreciation which has of late become fashionable. But it is a pity that he himself has thought it necessary to depreciate Prescott in turn; and it is certainly too much to assign Putnam the next share to Washington "in the securing of American independence" (page 326). If this were a just estimate of his powers, we should not find him, as is the case, gradually relegated to subordinate operations in the war. To these his capacity and training adapted him, and in the early stages of the war he did invaluable service, for which he will always be deservedly a favorite figure among American heroes. The illustrations of the book, we will add—except the portrait and plan of the battle—are of that class, so common in popular histories and biographies, which neither adorn nor illustrate.

*The History of the City of New York.* By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Parts I.-IV. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.)—Long after Diedrich Knickerbocker's chronicle had become a classic, instead of the caricature it was meant to be, Irving regretted that he had not time to write a serious history of New York. The occasion of this memorial year invites Mrs. Lamb to undertake the task, with the aid of abundant material industriously gathered from archives and public records, and from private memoirs, letters, and manuscripts. So far as the work has advanced, it has been done faithfully and picturesquely.

When an old-time shipwright built a vessel, he hewed the toughest and staunchest timber into keel and keelson, ribbing her with English oak and finishing with Scotch fir. After the same fashion this great trading craft of New York was framed, and her Dutch bottom, though mostly out of



sight, still bears up and binds together her whole structure. Two generations of Dutch peopled and ruled Manhattan Island before they yielded it, nor have two centuries of engrafted growth done more than to improve without effacing the sturdy ancient stock.

Whether as New Amsterdam or as New York, the fortunes of the colony were closely linked first with those of its motherland and then with those of its stepmother country. Old World history reflected itself in its early contests, and these gain light and clearness from the brief sketches of European events introduced by the author. Of course it is in the details of its special colonial life that the chief interest is found. It was a life of troubles among savage enemies and unfriendly neighbors without, varied by civil turmoil and official corruption within. The Indians, peaceable at first, soon changed, through the avarice of traders and hostile French influence from Canada, into a beleaguering circle of foes. The Eastern English provinces, encroaching while the Dutch were aliens, became jealous and unfriendly when united under the same government with them, while to smooth Penn and courtly Carteret the change of rulers brought no check in their grasping demands for territory.

Each figure in the short line of the governors sent from Holland and the longer series of their English successors is painted forcibly and individually. The Colonial annals break into distinct eras with the varying policy of rulers. Each of these, by his marked personal character, gives occasion for minute pictures of the men and manners of his time. These are heightened by details of domestic life, and stories of the origin of families whose names we hear every day in our streets. We do not remember to have read anywhere the curious episode of Jacob Leisler's two years' usurpation told with more impartial coherence, or its persistent influence over party action in the colony developed more clearly and satisfactorily. The author's candor appears as plainly in her admission that the colony did not always rise above the persecuting spirit of the age, and that in two instances, once in severity towards Quakers and once in cruel legislation against Papists, New York made exception to its usual tolerance.

The author's subject will grow less picturesque and more difficult as she approaches Revolutionary days. If finished with the same care and spirit that mark its opening, this work will deserve to become the popular history of New York.

*The North Star and the Southern Cross.* By Margaretha Weppner. (N. Y. : D. Appleton & Co. 1876.)—One hardly knows what to say of a book of this sort : its innumerable literary sins and exceeding bad taste invite the severest criticism, but this is to some extent diminished by its avowed object. A young, unmarried woman proposes to herself a tour around the world, to be "written up" into a book, and the proceeds of publication devoted to the support of an aged mother ; and, accordingly she starts out from Paris with seven and a half francs in her pocket, and two hundred francs indebtedness. Instead of imparting any useful information, "the unity of her story renders it necessary that the reader should know how she finally got rid of the debts she left behind her in Paris" ; and "the unity" also probably demands that we should be minutely informed how she travelled over four continents at other people's expense, obtaining passes from railroad and steamship magnates, raising subscriptions in Peking, lodging in convents and hospitals, and heartily abusing those Sisters of Mercy who did not receive her with entire kindness. In addition to these and various other incidents of the most trivial sort, we are given full details of an engagement to a thoroughgoing scoundrel of a Polish count, and her refusal of an offer of marriage from Mr. N—, of Boston, to whom she replied that "fate and the past were the reason of her inability to comply with his desires." As if these personal matters were not enough, she undertakes to assume charge of a poor crazy girl from India to Bavaria, and fills half a volume with the account of the various antics of this poor lunatic. Of geographic information there is nothing, and the occasional criticisms on the manners and customs of the various countries passed over are of the most superficial sort ; it is a comfort, however, to know that Miss Weppner received most assistance and politeness from Americans and Englishmen—her own country's agents offering nothing but hindrance and insult.

There is no questioning the novelty of the idea which inspired this book, and it affords a very lucid description of what can be accomplished by a certain sort of pluck and persistency, assisted by sex, in attaining a very worthy and charitable end by means which are at least questionable.

*The Name Machabee.* By Samuel Ives Curtiss, jr. (Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs. 1876. Pp. 42.)—To elucidate the meaning of an ancient name

may appear too insignificant a work to engage in ; and yet, if successfully done, it may be the means of shedding a bright light on whole periods of the past, for "names are crystallized history." Mr. Curtiss, the author of the dissertation before us, has furnished us with an excellent monograph upon a name brilliant in the annals of Jewish history ; and this monograph, the work of a young American scholar, deserves to be welcomed with sincere appreciation. He undertakes to show that the original Hebrew name must have been "Machabee," with a *Khaph*, and not "Maceabee," with a *Koph*, and he brings sufficient proof that the Hebrew letter *Khaph* was often transcribed with a *Kappa* by the LXX and by other Greek writers. He next examines the various theories as to the significance of the name Machabee, all of which he rejects, even the hammer theory, which has been accepted as the correct one by the most eminent Hebrew scholars of the age—among them by Gesenius, Ewald, Hitzig, Grimm, Keil, Frankel, Herzfeld, Kuenen, and others. He then proceeds to give his own derivation and explanation of the surname which the Asmonean hero Judas bore, and concludes that "Machabee" is derived from the verb *kabab*, to extinguish, and that it signifies "the extinguisher." Dr. Curtiss's conjecture may appear doubtful to many scholars, but every one who carefully peruses the dissertation will admit that he has written in a scholarly style, applying a sound, scientific method of investigation, and that his treatment of the subject is thorough and exhaustive. The theories of De Rossi, Yahya, Zuper, etc., have as little failed to be noticed by him as those of Reland, Kenti, cott, Michaelis, and others. On pp. 23 and 24 of his brochure, he inserts a letter from his teacher, Professor Delitzsch, of Leipzig, in which this learned Hebraist proposes the novel theory that "Maceabee" is a contraction of the Hebrew *Mach-abi* (What is like my father ?). Fine a Hebrew scholar as is Prof. Delitzsch, we cannot refrain from saying that his theory is not a very happy one, and that, on the contrary, it is utterly untenable. An Israelite of old might have formed the name *Mikhebi*—contracted, *Mirabi* (Who is like my father ?)—and to such a formation he would have had parallels in *Michael* and *Mikhaiah*, but he never would have thought of such a monstrous word as *Mach-abi*. Furthermore, the explanation of the two Biblical names, Machbanai and Machnadbai, which Prof. Delitzsch compares, and by which he attempts to support his theory, is also more than questionable—"Thus stumbles the helper, and he that is helped falls down." How will he explain the word Machbena, which appears in 1 Chr. ii. 49 as the name of a city, and which is etymologically connected with Machbanai ?

*The Science of Government in connection with American Institutions.* New edition. By Joseph Alden, D.D., LL.D. (New York : Sheldon & Co. 1876.)—Dr. Alden's book contains 245 pages devoted to the treatment of his subject. Of these only thirty-four are devoted to an exposition of the "Science of Government," properly so-called. The remainder is a summary of the constitutional history of the New England Colonies and of the United States, with brief explanations of the nature of international law, civil and canon law, and parliamentary law. The first criticism which obviously presents itself is that any student who needed the instruction offered in his first thirty-four pages would be entirely unable to follow him through his historical sketch of the Colonial and Federal Governments. The sketch contains little that is new, but all disputed points of constitutional interpretation are fairly and clearly stated. Still, as we have said, no pupil who needed the preliminary exposition could possibly take hold of them. There are many definitions in this exposition which we might object to as promotive of hazy thinking among young people, if the exposition itself were not so brief. As it stands it is, considered as a treatise on government, hardly a fit subject of criticism. If Dr. Alden gets out another edition, he ought either to make his prefatory matter much fuller or to imbed his constitutional narrative in a much larger body of explanation.

*Common Sense ; or, First Steps in Political Economy.* By M. R. Levenson, Ph.D. (New York : The Authors' Publishing Company. 1876.)—This is an excellent little book, which is all it pretends to be, and in fact has, besides its shortness, but one defect—viz., that like nearly all attempts to give easy lessons to beginners in politics and political economy, the author, as he warms with his subject, throws off the yoke of simplicity and becomes somewhat more recondite and mature in his matter and manner than he evidently intended to be when he set out. His political economy is of the most orthodox *laissez-faire* type, the writer going so far as to express doubts whether even police and magistrates are worth the cost of their maintenance—which shows a happy ignorance of the spirit and enterprise of the vicious classes.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Albemarle (Earl), Fifty Years of My Life.....	(Henry Holt & Co.) \$2 50
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Ellor (George), Daniel Heronda, Vol. II.....	(Harper & Bros.) 1 50
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Larned (J. N.), Talks about Labor.....	(D. Appleton & Co.) 2 00
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Portfolio for September, swd.....	(J. W. Benton) 25
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